EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

ROBERT S. LYND REVIEWS "THE POWER ELITE"

THE Nation

MAY 12, 1956
20c

Foreign Aid Begins at Home

by Edgar Snow

Japan's New Screen Art

by Akira Iwasaki

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

In This Issue:

EDITORIALS

393 • The Shape of Things

ARTICLES

394 • Point IV for America
by EDGAR SNOW

397 • Trade Winds at Geneva
by J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

398 • Japan's New Screen Art
by AKIRA IWASAKI

401 • Ceylon Elections
by W. MACMAHON BALL

402 • What the Campus Thinks
by LAURENCE BARRETT

404 • American Testament
by JAMES STOKELY

405 • Barony in Carolina
by JAY JENKINS

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

408 • Power in the United States
by ROBERT S. LYND

412 • Rebellion Against What?
by RUTH L. MUNROE

413 • A Too-Measured Prose
by WILLIAM GOYEN

413 • Ball Players
by DAVID CORT

413 • New Work in Psychology
by WALDO FRANK

414 • Early Years of a Radical
by ROGER N. BALDWIN

414 • **TELEVISION**
by ANNE W. LANGMAN

415 • **TV FORECAST**

416 • **MUSIC**
by B. H. HAGGIN

417 • **LETTER FROM PARIS**
by GERALD SYKES

418 • **DANCE**
by EDWIN DENBY

opposite
420 • **CROSSWORD PUZZLE**
by FRANK W. LEWIS

opposite
393 • **LETTERS**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

The Braasch-Sullivan Case

Dear Sirs: Thank you for calling my attention to the article by Charles P. Larrowe on the Braasch-Sullivan case in the April 14 issue. Your article states: "Shortly after the defendants were sentenced, Sullivan's mother came to Utah to ask the governor's help in seeing that her son was vigorously represented in an appeal. The governor recommended a Wally Sandack, a prominent Salt Lake attorney, and he was appointed by the court."

It is true that the relatives of Braasch and Sullivan asked my aid in the appointment of additional counsel to represent these young men, but my part in making this appointment has been misrepresented. After receiving the request from the relatives, I asked the Utah State Bar Association to submit the names of attorneys who would be available for appointment as additional counsel. In reply I received the names of five Salt Lake City attorneys and I immediately conveyed their names to the court having jurisdiction. The court thereupon appointed two of the attorneys as additional counsel, one being Mr. Sandack. At no time did I recommend an attorney by name or make any appointment of an attorney; I merely served as a go-between.

Mr. Larrowe's article, along with its errors, tended to minimize the brutality of the murder and to eulogize the opinion of one jurist whose views were at odds with all other jurists who heard this case, including the five members of the Utah Supreme Court and the three members of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. His article seemed to say that it was unfortunate these young men did not have a lawyer sooner because then it might have been possible for the truth to have been suppressed in which case the defendants could have gone scot-free.

J. BRACKEN LEE
Governor of Utah

Dear Sirs: Since I appeared in this case as one of counsel for the sovereign state of Utah, I feel constrained to make a short comment as to the article you have published.

Let me say that I think the article does a disservice to the people of Utah and to any person who may read this distorted account of the Braasch and Sullivan case. The article also is, in my considered opinion, uncomplimentary to the judicial processes of the state of Utah and of the nation.

In the first place, the entire article was colored in its presentation in favor of the lawbreakers who offended the peace and dignity of this state by the commission of a most wanton, heinous and senseless crime. There was nothing in the evidence to show or even indicate that Mr. Manzione, their victim, resisted their attack upon him. The culprits were not picked up and booked by the Las Vegas police on suspicion of a burglary committed in California. Their involvement in the crime at Beaver, Utah, was not brought about from a bulletin received in the police station at Las Vegas; there was no threatening crowd of townspeople carrying guns at the re-enactment of the crime, and there is no reason whatsoever to believe that Braasch and Sullivan were not vigorously represented by their counsel. Nor is it true that counsel was not appointed until the trial began in Beaver, Utah. Nor is it true that the Judge relented and moved the trial to the neighboring town of Parowan. The trial of the case was moved from Beaver, Utah, to Parowan, Utah, upon the ground and for the reason that women had been excluded from the jury panel drawn from Beaver County.

When Mr. Charles P. Larrowe writes of the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals, and I quote: "The higher federal court, confronted with the uncomfortable possibility that if it upheld Ritter, the convicted men might go free, reversed his decision," he is certainly exhibiting his disrespect for and doing a high injustice to that august body of greatly respected jurists. Such a statement is nothing more than an uncalled for inference that the courts of this land seek not to do justice as they see and know it, but that they act only to attain a desired result. Factually, nothing could be further from the truth.

WALTER L. BUDGE
Assistant Attorney General of Utah

Mr. Larrowe's Reply

Dear Sirs: I am disappointed that the response of Governor Lee and Assistant Attorney General Budge to my article was primarily to question my reporting rather than to discuss the basic issue—the propriety of executing Braasch and Sullivan when there is honest dispute over whether they were deprived of their constitutional rights.

Specifically, Governor Lee objects that his role in the case was misrepresented. If the wording I used was unfair to the governor, it was unintentional. I was attempting to show that as the chief executive of the state, Governor Lee's conduct had been impeccable; he had done all he could to ensure that when the two indigent defendants appealed their conviction they would have the best available counsel. Mr. Budge's specific objections are in a different category. Although he accuses me of misstating the facts, Mr. Budge really has no quarrel with me; his quarrel is with the decisions of the Utah Supreme Court (229 P. 2nd 289) and the United States District Court (126 F. Supp. 564), for these documents were the source of the facts he objects to.

The other points raised in the letters are matters of opinion on which we are in basic disagreement.

CHARLES P. LARROWE
Salt Lake City, Utah

[Commutation has been denied in the Braasch-Sullivan case and the two youths are scheduled to be executed this month.—THE EDITORS].

DeVoto Papers Sought

Dear Sirs: Stanford University has become the depository of the library and the papers of Bernard DeVoto. The collection will be of maximum use to scholars and historians if all those who have DeVoto correspondence will make it available to Stanford. A letter to the Office of the Director, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California, concerning any such correspondence will be answered with alacrity and gratitude.

WALLACE STEGNER
Stanford, Calif.

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts

Freda Kirchwey, Editorial Contributor
J. A. del Vayo, European Correspondent

Harold Clurman, Theatre
B. H. Haggin, Music
Alfred Maund, Copy and Makeup
Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

Martin Solow, Assistant to the Publisher

Staff Contributors: W. Macmahon Ball, Carolus, Maxwell Geismar, Keith Hutchison, Harvey O'Connor, Andrew Roth, Howard K. Smith, Alexander Werth, H. H. Wilson, M. L. Rosenthal (Poetry Editor).

The Nation, May 12, 1956, Volume 182, No. 19

The Nation, published weekly by The Nation Company and copyright 1956, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1879 at the Post Office of New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. *Reentered as second-class matter at the Post Office,* Montgomery, Alabama Printing Office, 1603 Reuben Street.

Subscription Prices Domestic—One year $7, Two years $12, Three years $17. Additional postage per year, Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1956
VOLUME 182, NUMBER 19

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

GM and the General Welfare

The characterization by the Senate Judiciary subcommittee in its 119-page report on General Motors that the company's profits are "extremely high" is eloquent understatement. GM did not make a mere billion dollars in profits after taxes last year, as everyone has been told; there was an "overage" of $189,477,000 which the newspapers, liking round figures, forgot to mention. This overage is more than the profits made by Bethlehem Steel, Kennecott Copper or Union Carbide and Carbon. It is twice as large as the profit of the largest glass company and three times as much as that of the largest rubber company. Indeed, the combined profits of such companies as Philip Morris, Quaker Oats, Philco, Armstrong Cork, American Sugar Refining, Colgate-Palmolive and Scott Paper fell short of the margin by which GM exceeded a billion dollars in profits last year. A final comparison: GM's profits last year were more than the total profits of all corporations in the food-manufacturing industries, that is, of all meat, dairy, beverage, grain, bakery, canned foods and other food-product corporations put together. Last year's profits, after taxes, was 31 per cent of GM's capital investment.

These facts should incite feelings of compassion rather than of envy for GM's management. Doubtless management would have preferred to report a less spectacular figure—a billion dollars after taxes was certain to invite envy, investigation, protest. Even management's special interest in the price of GM stock would not be likely to interfere with its long-range appraisal of company policy. The truth is that GM faces a serious dilemma. The same newspapers that carried stories of the subcommittee's report announced that American Motors had suffered a loss of $3,500,000 for the second fiscal quarter and that Studebaker-Packard is being cut in for a larger share of defense contracts. If GM were to cut prices, it would probably put its remaining "token" competitors out of business; raising wages might have the same effect.

Too Big for the Law?

And GM's dilemma is shared by the subcommittee, which decided to delay release of its comprehensive report on anti-trust enforcement because a majority of its members felt that the recommendations were not "tough enough." But would any strengthening of the anti-trust laws cope with the problems suggested by the subcommittee's special report on GM? The fact is that the real industrial giants of our day exhibit characteristics—independence of capital markets, separation of ownership from control, absence of risk, ability to control prices and profits—which justify the assertion that we are confronted by a new form of business organization. Management's concern with the problems which this new type of business organization presents should be as intense as the public's, for it could turn out to be true that what is bad for the rest of the country, could, in time, be very bad indeed for the great industrial empires of today.

Uncle Sam: Straight Man

One of the reasons this magazine favors a policy of competitive coexistence is that we would like to see Washington offer Moscow some competition for a change; better competition than a kind of unconscious and embittered collaboration which injures us and helps them. With the Soviets winning sweet editorial commendation for recent statements in their law journals condemning "trial by confession," we proceed to make three entirely unnecessary fumbles.

GIs, we are told, will no longer be answerable for the political beliefs of their cousins, aunts and sweethearts; but the favorable effect of the announcement is promptly countered by the dour postscript that armed-service personnel remain accountable for their own personal political beliefs and opinions no matter how exemplary their service records may be. The Department of Justice announces, after long meditation, that it will not appeal the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals invalidating the screening procedures used by the Coast Guard. The sighs of relief and murmurs of approval are nearly universal. Then the Coast Guard proceeds to promulgate new rules which are nearly as unfair as the old and which put this branch of service in the unenviable position of appearing to evade the court's decision. A Presidential committee recommends that a scientist's loyalty should not bar him from government grants on unclassified material; in other words, it is suggested that scientists who may have contributed to the Scottsboro defense in the middle 1930's should be permitted to engage in research, financed in part by Public Health Service grants, on such projects as the cure and treatment of measles and the common cold. But almost before the ink is dry on the editorial hurrahs which greeted this modest proposal, Senator Eastland says "nix" to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole idea. Professor Igor Kurchatov wins world-wide applause for the fullness and frankness of his remarkable address to the British nuclear scientists at Harwell. "I believe," states Dr. Donald J. Hughes, senior physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratory, "that he covered as much as 80 per cent of the total Russian effort in this field." But the same week finds Dr. Hughes and other American scientists pleading in Washington for greater freedom in the exchange of scientific data. "The Russians," Dr. Hughes rather sadly concluded, "have really stolen the show." So they have. But they would steal less of the show if we were to compete with them instead of continuing to set up situations which they skillfully exploit. Nowadays they have become so confident we will fumble each new play as it unfolds that they act in anticipation of our blunders.

POINT IV FOR AMERICA

Foreign Aid Begins at Home . . . *by Edgar Snow*

SINCE the Communist Party's Twentieth Congress, and indications that the Kremlin may soon house a Third International Chamber of Commerce, serious doubts have shaken Administration convictions that military alliances are enough to save the world from communism. "Increased economic aid abroad"—especially in under-developed Asia and Africa—has become the new panacea for foreign-policy malaise. In March, President Eisenhower called for a doubled foreign-aid appropriation of nearly five billion dollars. By April he was admitting that "arms alone would not prevent vital sections of the world from falling prey to Communist subversion." As this goes to press, the Secretary of State is conferring in Paris with Allied ministers engaged in the grand attempt to "search out new ways" of economic collaboration to save NATO from what Dulles has called a "tendency to dry up."

Any genuine appreciation of the important role of productive aid to backward countries is, however belated, always welcome news. In these columns last year I tried to analyze the nature of the new challenge of competitive coexistence (*The Nation*, October 22 and 29, and November 12). I suggested that to meet it, the West would be obliged to speed up independence in remaining colonies, and hasten the industrialization of Asia and Africa. *The Nation* has, of course, for years contended that arms exports alone could never change basic conditions which provoke nationalist and Communist-led revolutions in our era.

HOWEVER, a word of caution is needed for new recruits to this view. In the long run, gifts of machines and credits cannot in themselves guarantee that beneficiary nations will eschew communism and fascism and embrace the "moderation" of American capitalism. The *machine* is endowed with no magical power to distinguish between ideologies; it is neutral. What may decide the choice for people in the gray areas is the pertinence of the experiences of the two main systems to their special problems of "industrial integration." The extent to which the Soviet world and the West—especially the United States—solve the great social and cultural as well as the economic dilemmas now more or less common to all countries, and to which each develops lessons easily applicable elsewhere, may determine which system is most copied and hereafter prevails.

Competitive coexistence is not just a matter of persuading coy Cambodians to take dollars rather than rubles or yuan. It is a matter also of developing attractive alternatives to revolutionary extremes—alternatives which not only arouse admiration but which can be emulated by nations in a hurry. And all backward nations are in a hurry—or ought to be.

YET when we consider the relatively simple domestic problems this country has not even begun to face, much less to solve, it does not seem that we have as much to teach Point Four "heathen"—aside from the use of tools and technique—as many of us like to think. We suffer from a severe poverty of new ideas in internal *polity*, or what might be called "constitutional evolution." Our mythology of "private enterprise" and "free economy" consistently frustrates attempts to develop democratic variants to our real system, which is, of course, Corporate Giganticus. Since the war we have in this respect even retrogressed in the eyes of Europe and Asia. An obvious example is the effort to sweep TVA into the trashcan or at least behind the door. Similarly, the surrender to private corporations of federal rights in atomic energy developed at enormous collective cost to the people, and the recent transfer to private hands of billions of dollars worth of federally-owned oil and mining rights, are anachronisms which belong to the era of the robber barons. They can offer no viable pattern for modern Europe and New Asia.

We are not the only "advanced" nation suffering from obsessive racialism and color neuroses, but we are among the last officially to admit it and to legalize cures for the malady. In benighted Russia racial discrimination, which existed for centuries

EDGAR SNOW, veteran foreign correspondent, is the author of Red Star Over China, Pattern of Soviet Power *and other books. A three-part editorial he wrote for* The Nation's *issues of October 22 and 29 and November 12, 1955, has just been awarded a prize in the Second National Peace Contest sponsored by Lawrence S. Mayers of New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and could not be wiped out in a generation or two, nevertheless has been largely suppressed (with some few startling exceptions) under Soviet rule. After only a few years of independence India was able to end centuries-old caste discriminations which had excluded pariahs even from the temples. Yet recently, while the world watched some of our Southern states conspire to violate the federal law—not to mention basic human law—the Democratically-controlled Senate irresponsibly chose Senator Eastland as chairman of its powerful Judiciary Committee—which passes on appointees to the Supreme Court!

We are still the richest country by far, enjoying our greatest boom and our highest income. But economically less well-endowed nations may have trouble duplicating our prosperity formula and on close examination may choose to avoid it. For at its center is a continuous state subsidy of the arms market, which has absorbed more than 300 billion dollars in production of war goods and services since 1947. In the same period the American people have also been relieved of about sixty billions for "foreign aid."

STUDENTS from abroad may note that despite unprecedented prosperity we still have in the United States millions of people of all ages with incomes below the minimum here regarded as necessary to maintain a satisfactory standard of health. According to a recent Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation study,* 19 per cent of all urban "consuming units"—24,000,000 people, more than the combined populations of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland—live at levels "below prevailing standards of minimum adequacy." Among all substandard families, 40 per cent have children under eighteen years of age. Meanwhile the state holds billions worth of butter, potatoes, beef, pork, grain and other commodity "surpluses." But we have not been able to solve the simple equation of getting these goods from the bursting warehouses and granaries to the needy.

Our current per-capita income figure, $1,700 (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1954), is the highest in the world. According to that, the average family income should be about $6,400—with the family reckoned to consist of 3.6 income-earners and dependents. But out of a total of 42,000,000 families in the United States the fact is that 14.4 per cent** have incomes of less than $1,500 per family, 25 per cent less than $2,500 and 47 per cent less than $4,000. The majority receive less than $4,500 per family, before taxes. Of the nation's 10,000,000 "unrelated individuals," censused apart from families, the majority have incomes under $1,500 and more than 90 per cent gross less than $4,000. We have 22,000,000 people with a per-capita income of less than $420 per year, some 42,000,000 with a per-capita income of less than $700, and nearly 60,000,000 with less than $970. For about 105,000,000, the figure works out at under $1,400 per head, before taxes. Income for all these groups would be almost halved if presented in terms of 1939 dollar-purchasing power and must be cut by about 10 per cent to compare with 1948 incomes.

Of course this still leaves us better off than anybody else, as we keep saying. But it does not leave the 105,000,000 people with gross per-capita incomes of less than $1,400 relatively as much "better off," say, as it leaves Harlan P. Curtice with an annual gross wage-income alone of $800,000. Our "workable alternatives to revolutionary extremes" apparently do not yet fulfill the ideal of "to each according to his need." Nobody in public life is even talking about ways and means of solving the "surplus problem" in terms of improved human equity. No candidate I hear is advocating effective help for the ten to fifteen million children in "substandard" or low-income families to get an equal break in life and equal opportunities for culture and education.

Partymiller in York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

"We can really do things if we want to."

Speaking of education, have we even advanced enough to have methods perfected now and ready for export? In some respects we most certainly have.

But let us reflect also on a few unsolved problems cited last November by Admiral Hyman Rickover, of *Nautilus* fame, and Lewis L. Strauss, of the AEC, during a panel at the Thomas Alva Edison Institute on the nation's severe shortage in trained men.

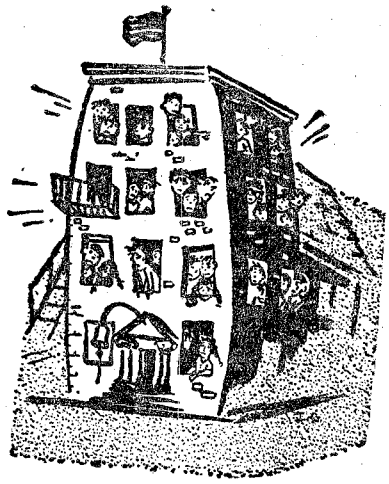
BOTH in school rooms and teachers to staff them we have fallen far behind the need, as everyone knows, owing partly to unprecedented population increases since the war. But the real crisis, already foreseeable for years past, is yet to come. Our elementary-school population jumped from 22,000,000 in 1950 to 30,000,000 in 1955. But by 1960 it will reach 46,000,000—a 68 per cent increase over 1946! By 1969, secondary-school enrollment will be at least 70 per cent *above last year's level.* Toward the end of the sixties the number of students seeking to enter college, even if only present percentages are maintained, will be around seven million—more than double what it is now.

Even today our school system is short 140,000 teachers. Half of all college graduates for the next ten years would be needed as teachers in order to hold onto the poor existing standards. But only one-fifth of our college graduates are going into teaching. A principal reason is, of course, that telephone operators make more money than elementary-school teachers, railroad engineers earn more than university professors and mechanics are better paid than high-school teachers. Teaching income stands at the bottom of all profes-

*"Characteristics of the Low-Income Population and Related Federal Programs," Joint Committee on the Economic Report, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1955.

**Cf. statistical tables on money income cited in "Characteristics," op. cit. Total population figure (1954) minus total of "unrelated individuals" gives balance of total population or consumer units in families; that remainder divided by number of families gives average of 3.64 members per family.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



sions. We spend more money on comic books than on all textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools. In 1951 advertising expenditures in the United States amounted to $199 per family as compared to $152 per household expended for education.

According to Admiral Rickover, American industry is already short more than 40,000 engineers and needs at least 30,000 annually for years to come. In 1955, we produced 23,000 engineers—half as many as five years ago. In 1954, we needed at least 7,900 science teachers; we produced only 1,700.

TODAY 25 per cent of our high schools offer neither physics, chemistry nor geometry courses. Far from training teachers to correct this, the output has dropped by 55 per cent over the past five years, while the high-school student body grew by 16 per cent. In 1900, physics was studied by 23 per cent of all high-school pupils, but in 1955 by only 4 per cent. Fifty-two per cent of all high school students in 1900 took algebra; now it is only 27 per cent. In 1900, chemistry students were 10 per cent of the total; now they are 7 per cent. Half of our high schools offer no natural-science courses at all.

"In Russian high schools," reported Mr. Strauss, "of the study courses which every student must take, 40 per cent are in science and mathematics." He added: "Ivan is made to work much harder than our Johnny. He goes to school six days a week and [when] he completes high school he has had six years of biology, five years of physics, four years of chemistry and four years of mathematics, including trigonometry. I can learn of no public high school in our country where a student obtains so thorough a preparation in science and mathematics even if he seeks it—even should he be a potential Einstein." Both Strauss and Rickover are alarmed that Russia is graduating about twice as many scientists and engineers—120,000 last year—as the United States. By 1960 the total of Russian scientists and engineers will outnumber ours by four to three; by 1965 Russia and China together may have twice as many.

"IT should be a matter of national remorse," said Strauss, "that less than half of our brightest high-school students—those in the top 20 per cent—go on to college, and only 2 per cent judged capable of earning Ph.D. degrees do so." Of the top quarter of eighteen-year-olds in this country, 20 per cent do not finish high school at all and 40 per cent finish high school but do not attend college. An average of 250,000 students in the top fifth leave college after one year. The United States annually lets about half a million of its most talented young people abandon higher education, mostly for financial reasons.

Admiral Rickover recently urged that the government provide 500,000 scholarships for those qualified students in the hope of making them into scientists, engineers and teachers. At $1,000 per scholarship, that would equal the amount Mr. Dulles this year asked Congress to add to his foreign-aid kitty to convince backward people that our system is better than any other system. Is it not an ironic commentary that this sensible suggestion of a way to save some of our best brains from becoming intellectual scrap material has to come from a naval officer rather than any major candidate for office? Preoccupied with schemes for saving the Free World by way of Bangkok, Madrid, Riyadh and Kabul, are we not neglecting some of our most valuable human resources—the proper development of which is the true best measure of any system? Must our millions of substandard and low-income families, our impoverished teachers and students, secede and become a foreign state before they can receive needed help from the federal government?

Wretchedly inadequate as the school-aid bill now before Congress is, even that seems unlikely to pass this year. An equally immediate necessity is a large-scale Point Four program for the South—starting with Alabama and Mississippi. Earnest consideration of the economic degradation of his own state might better have engaged Senator Eastland during all that time he was spending taxpayers' money hunting for Communists in the New York *Times*.

Mississippi and Alabama have the distinction of being not only among the most backward areas in the world in their tribal attitudes toward human equality; with Arkansas, they have the lowest per-capita incomes in the Union. They have the lowest labor productivity, the lowest rural income, the lowest factory wages, the highest infant-mortality rate, the highest maternal death rate and the lowest number of hospital beds per capita. Proud of having the lowest number of foreign-born whites of any states except Arkansas and North Carolina, they also have the highest percentage of substandard-income families. In the the first year of the Korean conflict, 19.2 per cent of all Selective Service registrants failed the Armed Forces Qualification Test. In the nine Southern states, 24 per cent to 58 per cent failed. Here again Mississippi and Alabama stood highest among the lowest.

THESE states certainly should be a safe area for Point Four investment. The federal government as a starter might launch an extensive program to build adequate school buildings and hospitals, and to train teachers and doctors to staff them. It would seem reasonable to devote as much to this region as we have spent on Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, which has roughly the same number of inhabitants as Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. That is in excess of two billion dollars. One result of such a project might be basic racial reconciliation in a heroic joint constructive effort. It could in effect add the equivalent of a whole new nation to the Free World.

George Kennan, author of the early concept of containment, has recently warned that we must expect a continued "reduction of our prestige and influence throughout the world" because of our failure "to shape our own domestic affairs to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whatever purpose we are trying to pursue in foreign relations." Effective foreign policy, in the final analysis, derives from effective domestic planning and achievement. Last week the NATO meeting was described as "fifteen foreign ministers in search of an idea." NATO's ideological poverty may trace in part to the stagnating effects of the cold war itself—particularly its overemphasis on the arms panacea—on the internal social and political life of its members. Notably in the case of the United States, it exposes our present fear of economic and social innovation and our failure to create modern methods of some universal utility. Until we succeed in developing more dynamic solutions to the problems of the kind discussed in this report, our neutral friends are likely to remain more skeptical of the absolute perfection of the "free-economy" system than they are of the absolute value of free American dollars.

TRADE WINDS AT GENEVA

E.C.E. Spurs Progress . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Geneva

THE ELEVENTH session of the Economic Commission for Europe, which closed late last month, was particularly well-prepared and well-timed. Secretary General Gunnar Myrdal had made a preliminary exploratory swing through Moscow, London, Paris and other capitals before the meetings opened. The last phase of the session coincided with the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to London, which brought the question of East-West trade—ECE's main preoccupation these days—into world headlines. Before the meetings ended, even those delegates who in the past were inclined to regard every new Soviet move with profound mistrust were beginning to see the need for a more flexible approach to East-West relations.

The ECE secretariat's comprehensive report, *Economic Survey of Europe in 1955*, opened with the statement that "the year of 1955 was the second consecutive year of rapid economic expansion in Western Europe." The expansion had been achieved, the survey continued, "without any significant increases in price levels" and "with remarkably little deterioration" in the region's balance of payments with overseas areas. Not all of Western Europe profited equally from this encouraging trend, however. Sir Edward Boyle, British delegate, pointed out that because his country had started the year with full employment, it had been unable to take proper advantage of the favorable trading conditions which existed for manufacturing countries during the period. And, in Sir Edward's opinion, this was a loss which could not be made up, for he foresaw that with most manufacturing in a state of full employment and unable to expand rapidly, this year's trade growth was not likely to be as great as last year's.

On the key point of East-West trade, the British figures for 1955 showed marked improvement over 1954. Exports to Communist countries rose from $28,280,000 to $64,120,000, while imports went up from $117,040,000 to $175,840,000. These sizeable increases, of course, were achieved in the face of the restrictions imposed by the Western embargo on the shipment of "strategic" goods to Eastern Europe.

SPEAKING for France, Maurice Faure—quoting Foreign Minister Christian Pineau—announced his country's determination to "smash down the iron and bamboo curtains wherever they may exist." Arguing that East-West trade was still much too low, he joined with his Belgian colleague, M. Larock, in a discreet reference to the "political" motives that underlay the economic stagnation. Yet there was evidence that the dynamics of trade sometimes overcome the dynamics of political conflict. Mr. M. Bartur of Israel, whose country has been in an uneasy relationship with the Communist bloc since the shipment of Czech arms to Egypt, reported trade agreements reached with Rumania, Poland and Bulgaria during the past year—agreements made possible through the good offices of the ECE. Mr. Bartur said that trade between Israel and Eastern Europe had risen by almost 400 per cent since 1953—from $4,200,000 to more than $15,000,000.

Ivan Kabanov, Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade, made clear his country's hopes for large-scale trade with nations outside the Communist bloc. Looking to the future, he assured the delegates that whenever American dollar aid is brought to a close, they could turn eastward for the commodities they need to feed their growing industrial machines. He handled the immediate question of the embargo with considerable discretion, perhaps because he knew this subject was to be brought up in London shortly by his superiors (he spoke a few days before the arrival of the Soviet leaders in the British capital). Certainly he was aware of the British position; the London *Times* had been quite open on the matter, pointing out regretfully that "there is little chance for relaxing the embargo in an American election year."

Yet if Mr. Kabanov's polemics were discreet, their direction was unmistakable. Precisely because the Russians believe that world tensions have been diminishing since the Geneva conference of last July, they consider the maintenance of the embargo as a denial of American and British assurances that the West is as interested as Moscow in "competitive peaceful coexistence." The attitude of the Soviet delegation here, as well as what has happened in London, has convinced most European leaders that Moscow is on the threshold of a drive to get the embargo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lifted entirely or, failing that, to get it radically revised. There are those here who believe that this is the price Moscow will insist upon in return for a meaningful change of attitude on the Middle East problem.

In any case, the Russians are counting on long-term pressures to solve the trade issue to their satisfaction. They reason that, with the American Presidential election out of the way, economics will dominate the military (it has already begun to do so, as indicated by the new approach to NATO revealed in some of the recent statements by Secretary Dulles). And they see a fresh opportunity for reviewing the whole situation at another Big Four conference which they confidently predict will take place some time next year. Perhaps, too, they feel that Washington will one day come to agree with Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, who last month told a New York audience that "if self-seeking lobbies, well-financed and fast-talking, continue to exert a major influence" on America's foreign-trade policy, the United States may lose the world economic struggle with the Russians.

Again on the question of the embargo, Gottfried Haberler, professor of economics at Harvard University, anticipated much of what I heard here in an article he wrote for the *Review of Politics*, a publication of Notre Dame University, in January of this year. He raised the question as to whether the United States should "bring pressure upon [our] allies to keep their trade with the East at a minimum or should [we] adopt a hands-off policy"? This was his realistic answer:

> A policy of withholding from Soviet countries strategic manufactured goods or raw materials is probably doomed to failure. The Communist world is too large, its economics too diversified, its armaments industries too highly developed, and there are too many neutral and neutralist countries in the world to make a trade boycott an effective weapon of economic warfare in peacetime, except perhaps for a short period in such a case of acute tension as existed during the shooting war in Korea.

Mr. Haberler could now, of course, point to Mr. Khrushchev's announcement in London that the Russians—despite the embargo—were managing to develop a guided missile with a hydrogen warhead as a confirmation of his theory.

The discussions here went beyond the European framework. Western experts admitted privately that if Communist countries, including China, can compete with the West in the purchase of almost any raw material or food product that countries like Brazil, Ceylon, Egypt and Pakistan can produce, they can also compete in the field of foreign aid and technical assistance. News dispatches over the last year make this amply evident. More recently, the Russians have indicated their readiness to assist India in building up an oil industry and have told Egypt they were prepared to assist in a search of the deserts for uranium or other atomic raw material.

WHILE the documented results of the eleventh session were procedural rather than substantial, the atmosphere it has helped to create is of great value. It proved still another instrument for disseminating the notion that cold-war competition must give way to an economic war. What is needed, it is felt here, is the imagination necessary for the creation of a genuine worldwide economic program that would contribute to peace and to the prosperity of its participants. Toward this end there must be evolved a vast plan for technical assistance under the auspices of the United Nations and a response, on similar high level, to the challenge presented by the dawning of the atomic era. The ECE, with real support from its member governments, could be of invaluable assistance in the realization of such grandiose plans.

JAPAN'S NEW SCREEN ART

More Real Than "Rashomon" . . *by A. Iwasaki*

Tokyo

IN THE streets of downtown Tokyo, teeming with U. S. soldiers and foreign tourists, there are many souvenir shops where all kinds of things Japanese are on sale—things perhaps *too* Japanese, such as embroidered kimonas in loud colors, figurines in fake-ivory, etc. No Japanese even bothers to look at them; they are only for foreigners. This reminds me of the case with some of the Japanese films exhibited abroad.

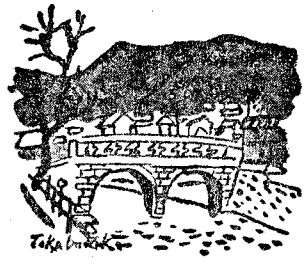
The most remarkable fact about the Japanese film industry is that its best products are for the domestic market, and only second-rate pictures are found fit for export. No picture awarded the coveted Mainichi Prize (Japanese equivalent of the Oscar) has ever reached a foreign screen, and of those pictures which have made good abroad only two ranked among the "ten best" chosen annually by the leading Japanese critics: *Rashomon* ranked fifth and *Ugetsu-Monogatari* third in their respective years.

In 1950, when *Rashomon* was completed and first screened before the executives of the Dai-Ei Company, Masaichi Nagata, the company's president, is said to have been enraged and shouted, "What's this! Nobody will understand this!" The Japanese public understood it all right, but didn't like it much. Whether Kurosawa's style was too affected and sophisticated, or

AKIRA IWASAKI is a film critic and producer and the author of many books on film theory. He was imprisoned during the war by the Japanese government as a "dangerous element"—a classification applied to all who opposed Japan's war aims.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whether the picture's philosophy that all men are liars and there is no objective truth on earth didn't appeal to Japanese common sense, *Rashomon* was pretty near a flop both artistically and financially. So it was more than a surprise to the Japanese when the Venice Film Festival granted it the *Grand Prix*. Three years later, when Japan got another laurel at Cannes with *Gate*



of Hell, director Teinosuke Kinugasa was astonished, or rather ashamed. He is quoted as saying at a press interview: "It's impossible. There must be some mistake." He was ashamed because his inferior work—he is a veteran director and has made hitherto some real masterpieces—got the prize.

But the Japanese cinemoguls saw a golden opportunity before them. They planned to produce pictures to fit the foreign taste. They believed from past experience that only historical pictures with their peculiar manners and rich colors impress foreign audience. *Gate of Hell* minus costumes and colors would be quite a dull spectacle. Nagata and his Dai-Ei Company took the lead in making export-conscious color pictures with historical themes. After *Gate of Hell,* they produced *Golden Demon, Lady Sen* and *Yang Ke Fe*. Other big companies followed with *Mask and Destiny* and *Samurai*. But now all the world is going to know that not every Japanese film is really good.

DOMESTIC films voted as the best by critics here in the last five years: 1951, *Wheat Harvest Time,* directed by Yasujiro Ozu; 1952, *To Live,* directed by Akira Kurosawa; 1953, *Muddy Waters,* directed by Tadashi Imay; 1954, *Twenty-four Eyes,* directed by Keisuke Kinoshita; 1955, *Floating Clouds,* directed by Mikio Naruse. None of these found their way to foreign markets, nor are their directors known outside Japan. This is because these films depict the drab everyday life of common people and lack the color and splendor of old Japan to attract foreign eyes. Only seldom have films dealing with modern Japan received applause on the European screen: *Mother* in France, and *Children of Hiroshima* in several countries. True Japanese film art remains hidden from alien eyes.

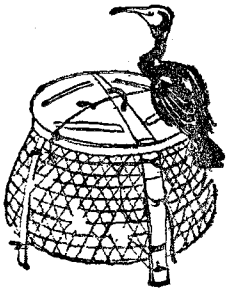
IN THE history of the Japanese film, America has twice played a decisive role: at its origin and at the end of World War II.

The pioneer technicians who laid the foundations of the film industry in Japan in the 1920's were those who came back from Hollywood. They taught their colleagues what they had learned in the studios over there, how to direct, how to light the scene, how to handle the camera. Before that time, the film medium was supposed to be merely a substitute for the stage; the first group of Japanese films were photographed *Kabuki* performances. Without the import of American know-how, the film industry here would not have started at all.

After a long lapse, in 1945, America came back to the Japanese film. During the war Japanese movies were used as a very important "military weapon" in psychological warfare. The warlords and their henchmen had learned from Hitler and Goebbels and made the movies serve for war and invasion. But in the first days of occupation, General MacArthur, as Supreme Allied Commander, issued a directive that Japanese films must henceforth serve peace and democracy instead of war and fascism. The Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) of GHQ was responsible for its implementation. It turned out after a little more than a year that so far as MacArthur was concerned, the talk of "peace and democratization" was only lip-service. But most of the officials in CIE took the directive seriously. And that is why some of them were found "disloyal" and subsequently sent home. But they did much while they could for the liberation of the Japanese film.

When the time came for the movies to be freed from the yoke of fascism, Japanese film makers had become so used to absolute obedience that they couldn't at once realize they were their own masters. Nevertheless, they made progress. SCAP's directive abolished wartime film contracts and censorship. For the first time in Japan's history, freedom of expression was assured. When, in the course of that first year, the tide changed and MacArthur, finding that the democratization of Japan had gone too far, wanted to halt the trend, he had to use force. First he banned *War and Peace* because it preached an anti-war message at a time when Japan was supposed to rearm as a bulwark against communism. (The picture was finally released, with more than a reel deleted.) Then he mobilized troops to suppress the striking film workers at the Toho studios—peaceful film workers, including famed directors, actors and actresses who opposed the discharge, on the pretext that they were dangerous "Reds," of hundreds of union members. This was part of GHQ's planned purge of "undesirables" from labor unions, schools, universities, the press and government. The film makers had finally embraced the idea that freedom and democracy are the very foundation of true art, and that they must be defended. They had learned this from America, and they are wondering if America herself is forgetting what she taught.

TODAY all Japanese film artists and technicians owe their training to actual work in Japanese studios; there is no regular film school. But foreign film theories are studied. In the days of Eisenstein's and Pudow-



kin's "montage," Russian theory was their Holy Bible. Nowadays America and the USSR coexist peacefully as sources of inspiration for movie makers here.

The movies play an unrivalled role in the everyday life of the common people. In 1955, 870,000,000 Japanese saw both native and foreign films in 5,000 theatres. That means every Japanese saw ten films a year, on the average. This rate is low compared to that of America or Europe, but it is increasing very rapidly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

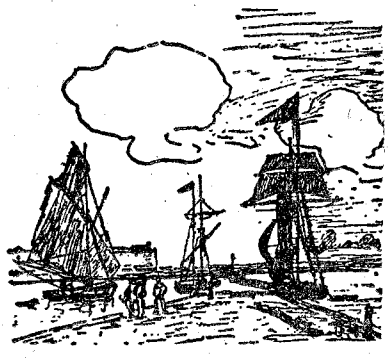
For this multitude of movie-goers, more than 400 feature films are produced yearly in a dozen studios in both Tokyo and Kyoto, and 180 films per year are imported from various countries.

In the early days of the occupation, Japan was said to be an El Dorado for American capital. Business men and speculators prospered, taking advantage of the post-war confusion and inflation. MacArthur openly protected them. In the film business, his headquarters almost acted as a salesman for Hollywood, forcing its products upon the defeated nation. GHQ ordered the government to set up a quota system for film imports, according to which Japan had to exhibit a great number of American films at the expense of those from other countries. By the San Francisco Treaty, Japan regained her sovereignty, but Washington still dictates in many fields. Film-import regulations remain the same, and more than 70 per cent of the 180 films imported yearly must be American. The Russians and mainland China have no quota at all. It is questionable if this favoritism adds to the prestige of American films, since not many of them can compete against the choice quality of European imports. Our highbrow audiences prefer French and English films to American, and René Clair, Julien Duvivier, Andre Cayatte, René Clement, Jean Renoir, David Lean, Carol Reed, etc. are big names—though not always certain "box-office."

PERHAPS the Japanese film public is more artistic—and more critical—than that of other countries. Naturally, they enjoy American Westerns, musicals, slapstick comedies and thrillers; but they want something more than entertainment—ideals, realism and dreams, too.

All this does not mean that Hollywood films are losing ground here; they are still the best money-makers. Among last year's list of the ten best imports, *East of Eden* ranked at the top, *A Star is Born* was third and *Marty* was seventh. Gary Cooper, James Stewart, John Wayne, Toni Curtiss, Ava Gardner, Audrey Hepburn are top stars here. William Wyler, whose *Roman Holiday* was a spectacular hit and whose *Desperate Hours* is now being highly praised, is considered the best director in the world. Elia Kazan, Joseph Mankiewicz, George Stevens, John Ford and Billie Wilder have well-established reputations.

But despite all this, Japan is one of the rare countries in which native films prevail over American imports. Of the 870,000,000 annual movie-goers, 500,000,000 see Japanese films and 320,000,000 watch foreign (mostly American) films. Only Chaplin and Disney, among Hollywood products, are consistently more successful than any Japanese film. Re-



cently *Limelight* was a smash hit and *The Living Desert* established an all-time record. About 12,000,000 people—one seventh of Japan's population—have seen it.

Since the war, Japan's economy has been that of a colonialized and dependent country; it lacks stability or elasticity. We are suffering from a chronic depression; unemployment and labor unrest are increasing. Although the Japanese film industry looks prosperous to an outsider's eyes, nobody would be surprised if the impact of the depression is felt here, too, within the next six months. This could lead to the liquidation of one or two of the "big six" film companies. The film industry, as well as the whole Japanese economy, is standing on feet of clay.

Of the 400-odd films produced yearly, only 10 per cent are worth seeing. But it is the 90 per cent which show the characteric trends of Japanese films and Japanese audience psychology. The most popular types are domestic dramas, romances and whodunits, as in other countries. But there are types peculiar to Japan; one is *Kengeki*, the historical play in which violent fighting scenes of *samurais* are the main show and which is the Japanese equivalent of the American Western; another is the *Hahamono*, the tragedy of the forlorn mother a la *Stella Dallas*. The former appeals to male and the latter to female audiences. They are criticized by intellectuals as the remnants of feudalism, the one preaching violence and other being a tear-jerker. But they never cease to be successful. The Japanese liking for tragedy and tears is apparent in the fact that they like boy-almost-never meets-girl films, in which two lovers hindered by all possible obstacles fail to meet and kiss till the very end.

Remnants of feudalism are found in every phase of Japanese life; the feudal elements in pictures are an inevitable reflection. This can be seen also in the "style" of the Japanese film. Its most obvious feature is slowness of tempo, immobility of camera and dull montage. The tempo of a film is naturally defined by the tempo of the society in which it is made, and there can be no doubt that our way of life is slower than that of America and Europe. But there is another factor in Japan worth considering: an ancient artistic tradition which does not lay stress on dramatic force. The Japanese always valued the subtle in art; they hated exactness, definiteness. Such was and still is the spirit of the old-school Japanese *Tanka, Haikai* and other forms of literature. It is still alive in the most modern form of art, the film. But now a rebellion against it is under way. The ablest of film artists are seeking new styles, their own styles, which can be both national and international. Yes, and not only style is important; they are trying a new approach to reality, new contact with reality.

WRITERS and directors, as employees of the film company, must as a rule obey orders to produce money-makers. But some have already established their reputation with the public to the point where they can show some independence. For instance, Akira Kurosawa, now world famous, is able in most cases to talk his company (Toho) into producing the films he wants, so long as his work incurs no loss. Thus he was able to make his last picture, *Chronicle of a Living Creature*, a denunciation of the A-and H-bombs—a theme which the company would have rejected as too "political" for any other director. The case of Keisuke Kinoshita is similar. Though not yet known widely abroad, he is, with Kurosawa, the most promising

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

young director. And his company (Shochiku) had to concede very often to him, and allowed him to direct such pictures as *Carmen Is Pure-Hearted* and *Twenty-four Eyes;* both are anti-fascist and anti-war films. An American magazine has said that 95 per cent of Japanese movie makers are Red. This is a white lie. Most are just artists—whether they want to entertain or want to create art—and not political.

Yasujiro Ozu and Mikio Naruse, two directors of the older generation, are the most distinguished masters of genre painting on the screen of modern Japanese life, and they stand very high in their employers' favor. But there are others who preferred, or were forced, to step out of their studios and make pictures for themselves. Some were Red; others wanted freedom of expression. Since 1950, several progressive independent units were founded and produced some thirty pictures, among them such international successes as *Children of Hiroshima, But We Are Alive* and *The Street Without Sun. Children of Hiroshima* depicts the horrible day of the A-bombing and how it brings death to the victims even after several years. The director was Kaneto Shindo. *But We Are Alive,* directed by Tadashi Imai, was inspired by De Sica's *Bicycle Thief,* and describes the life of day-laborers in a big city. The *Street Without Sun* is the well-known classic of Japanese proletarian literature by Takiji Kobayashi ,who was tortured to death by police, and its film version by Satsua Yamamoto found enormous response among workers. The fundamental feature of all these films is their realism. They deal with important social themes, depicting life as it is in this capitalistic society.

The activity of the independent producers is a phenomenon unique in Japan, and deserves its own story. The development was stimulated by the neo-realism of the Italians. And critics in Europe, who have seen some of the independent pictures, now talk about Japanese neo-realistic films. No doubt, realism is what the Japanese film artists are aiming at. They are looking to the future, when they can show in their films the real life and real problems of the Japanese people—not "souvenir" films on historical themes—to the people of the whole world.

Ceylon Elections . . . *by W. M. Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

"WE MAY as well face the unpleasant facts of the case," states a New York *Times* editorial. "We cannot greet the election returns from Ceylon, at this point, with anything short of dismay. From almost every angle it looks like a setback for the cause of the free world."

We know what the New York *Times* means. Mr. Bandarnaike, Ceylon's new Prime Minister, has stated his policy very candidly. He is determined to make Singalese the official language instead of English, to nationalize the foreign-owned plantations, banks and insurance companies; to abolish any links with Britain which might imply that Ceylon belongs, however loosely, to the Western power bloc. This last aim has immediate strategic importance, for it means ending the 1947 defense agreement which gives Britain naval and air bases in Ceylon.

Is such a program cause for dismay? It is certainly a quick change for Ceylon. How and why did it happen?

The Ceylon elections were free elections, conducted in accordance with Western democratic procedures. The Trotskyist Party supported the victorious United People's Front, but this is a group with only the vaguest Communist ideology and no links with international communism. The results cannot conceivably be counted a Communist conspiracy.

It is misleading to describe the overwhelming defeat of Sir John Kotelawala's United National Party, which had held office for twenty-five years, as a victory for the anti-Western forces. The people of Ceylon want good relations with the West. But they are opposed to any policy which seems to subordinate their own distinctive interests to Western interests, or which ties them to the West in a way that limits their own freedom of choice. It is surely not surprising that the Ceylonese should feel this way in 1956. The surprising thing is that they should have delayed so long in making this clear announcement that they are just as keen as their neighbors in India, Burma and Indonesia to assert their feeling of independence. While Sir John Kotelawala's prestige had been steadily rising in Western capitals, it had been steadily dropping at home. Indeed, it is hardly possible for any statesman in Southeast Asia today to get strong support from both the West and his own people.

Sir John Kotelawala has been losing ground at home almost since he took over the premiership in 1953. He was widely criticized as a "brown sahib," a Ceylonese educated in England with the outlook of the former English ruling class; as a man who was more at home in London or Colombo than in the up-country villages. The villages were themselves producing a new educated class, not perhaps very highly educated, but politically conscious and resentful that the best professional and business opportunities seemed to be restricted to a small and privileged circle of established families. It was easy for these domestic resentments to verge into criticisms of Sir John's attitude on world affairs. While his government declined to join SEATO, it was reluctant to establish diplomatic relations with either Moscow or Peking, and the Prime Minister was often vehement, notably at Bandung, in his denunciation of Communist imperialism. Thus his critics claimed that his heart was in the "Western camp," not in the "area of peace" that Mr. Nehru wanted to establish in East Asia.

CEYLON'S new course will provide a new test for Britain's wisdom and prudence. To lose her naval base at Trincomalee and RAF station at Negombo would mean a radical weakening of her military position. Britain has already withdrawn from Suez, is in acute difficulties in Cyprus and not wholly comfortable in Aden. It is possible that Ceylon's policy towards British military bases may before long encourage Malaya and Singapore to take the same line. And in Hong Kong, the British can only remain so long as Communist China welcomes or tolerates their presence.

It seems fairly clear that the period in which the West could confidently

W. MACMAHON BALL, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is a professor of political science at Melbourne University and the author of several books on the Far East.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

maintain military bases on the mainland of Asia is drawing to a close. In some ways this is regrettable. Britain today certainly has no "imperial" designs in this region. She is anxious to negotiate stable and peaceful relations with Communist China. And if there should be an act of overt aggression in Southeast Asia, Britain would do everything possible to limit and localize the ensuing conflict. If ever distant military bases were maintained with purely defensive intentions, this can be truly said of British bases in this region today.

Yet, as seen from Southeast Asia, the question of British bases is not as simple as that. Britain is linked with the United States in SEATO, and Mr. Dulles has repeatedly insisted that SEATO should be linked with the American military pacts further north in East Asia. If, for whatever reason, there should be war between America and China, it is hard to see how the SEATO members, including Britain, could keep out of it. The peoples of Southeast Asia do not want their countries to be used as military bases in such a war, unless their own security is directly endangered.

I am suggesting that the whole question of military defense in Southeast Asia is compromised by relations between America and China, and particularly by America's continuing sponsorship of the Chinese Nationalists. Most politically conscious Southeast Asians feel that war is more likely to come to East Asia from America's fear, idealism and impetuosity than any from Communist designs for expansion. They want, if they can, to keep out of such a war.

I cannot regard this as a cause for Western dismay. I think it likely that the struggle for Southeast Asia will be fought in the economic and political rather than the military field, and that in this struggle the spirit of national independence—which Ceylon is now expressing rather forcefully—is the strongest barrier to the extension of communism.

WHAT THE CAMPUS THINKS

Polling College Editors . . . *by Laurence Barrett*

WHAT ARE collegiate views on the elections, desegregation and the problem of Red China? Are fraternities and compulsory ROTC losing or gaining ground with today's campus students? Do the majority take an interest in public affairs?

To find the answers to these and other questions, college editors across the nation were polled recently by New York University's communications periodical, *News Workshop*. Forty-five responded from all types of institutions—fifteen from the Northeast, eight from the South and eleven each from the West and Midwest.

If an ideological pattern exists among college students today, it was not revealed by the replies. While 62 per cent of the editors favored Eisenhower for President and 28 per cent pumped for Stevenson (Harriman, Kefauver and Warren shared the remaining votes), many disagreed with the candidate of their choice on specific issues. As a group, the editors failed to hew either to a distinctly conservative or distinctly liberal line.

Twenty-five editors agreed that "peace and prosperity" will make "as potent an issue as GOP leaders claim." But eighteen said that it was a slogan, not an issue. With few exceptions, editors on both sides of the political fence listed several issues which they said ought to be debated —agriculture, foreign policy and civil rights were mentioned most often in that order. Only four replies mentioned the President's health. Federal aid to public education was also cited by several editors as an election issue. In a separate question, they voted overwhelmingly—thirty to fourteen—in favor of "extensive" educational support from Washington to local school systems. Only one declared himself as undecided.

On another educational problem, twenty-five editors maintained that organized resistance cannot stave off desegregation much longer, while seventeen held that this generation will not see full integration in the public schools. Four had no opinion. More than half of those who took the negative view attend school outside the Deep South. One Bostonian said, "If we had any courage, we would enforce the law. But . . . there will be no action." A sprinkling of replies from New York, the Dakotas and the West agreed with him. Opinion from the South itself varied. One answered tersely: "Not in the Deep South, where opposition is violent! ! !" Yet a colleague from a neighboring state argued that "intelligent people in all states see that segregation is impractical as well as unfair. They will win over the diehards . . . [within] a few years." Non-Southerners who saw an early end to segregation differed on how it will come about. Some argued that "*mores* cannot be changed by legislation" but that these *mores* are now in a process of modification. Others said that a crucial showdown is approaching in which civil-rights forces can win only with direct fed-

LAURENCE BARRETT is co-editor of the New York University News Workshop *and* Square Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

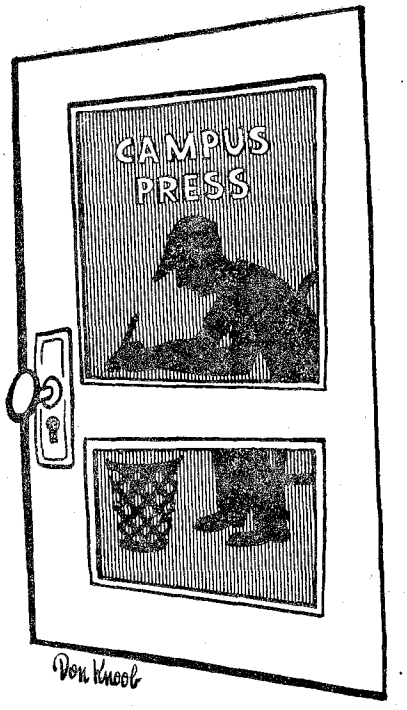
eral support; they saw such support as inevitable.

In the foreign-policy sphere, the editors voted thirty-five to three in favor of President Eisenhower's proposal for long-term foreign aid; seven had no opinion. The ayes argued that since the United States will have to keep spending anyway, we might as well put our expenditures on a regular basis. Several commented that such a program would remove foreign assistance from the political arena, a place where it ought not be. The three nays expressed disgust with foreign spending in general.

American recognition of Red China and its admission to the U. N. drew the usual arguments from the twenty-six who opposed it and the eighteen who supported a reversal of present policy. One was undecided. "Facing the facts" versus "cowardly surrender" sums up the difference of opinion here.

WHAT the United States should do about the Palestine problem stumped the editors collectively. Thirty-three agreed that present American policy (or lack of it) is unsound, five said that the United States is doing whatever it can and seven declined to answer. The comments, some of which sympathized with Israel, some with the Arabs and some with Mr. Dulles, were hazier on this question than on any other. A couple said that the crux lay in "domestic pressure groups." Three questioned the validity of Israel as a state and condemned the American policy which helped to create it. Others said, in effect, that the United States should not sell its soul for a few barrels of oil. Several who had concrete suggestions qualified them with statements like: "Of course, I'm a little confused by it all." For a college editor, this is an admission of consequence.

If the collegiate newsmen showed much interest in many controversial questions, they did not attribute equal interest to their classmates. They were told that a recent poll of 1,500 students on an urban campus revealed that only 18 per cent could name their Congressman, Senators and the Secretaries of Commerce and State. The editors agreed by a margin of over six to one that this result is indicative of the state of political awareness in their schools. From a



rural Southern university came this comment: "Here, as on any other campus located in a small town, students take on an intellectual and social isolation from the world. . . . Too few students look beyond their college." A New Yorker noted: "Most college students simply do not connect themselves with political affairs. It is the job of education at all levels to teach students their connection with the world around them —including the political. Education has failed so far. . . ."

Despite this lack of interest, or perhaps because of it, almost 95 per cent of the editors asserted that college papers should discuss national affairs. Nearly all indicated that their publications do deal with public questions to some extent. Some papers, in areas not served by a metropolitan press, use liberal amounts of wire-service news. Urban college journals usually restrict themselves to editorial comment.

None of the editors, whether from public or private schools, complained of administrative censorship like that applied to the University of Texas's *Daily Texan* (see *The Nation,* March 24). On other campus issues, the editors, by identical votes of twenty-eight to thirteen, condemned compulsory military training in college and opposed the notion that fraternities and sororities are "undemocratic." Campus military training—ROTC— is compulsory for freshman and sophomore men in many land-grant colleges. Dozens of other institutions also inaugurated training programs shortly after World War I. Most of the arguments against forced training stressed the point that it is impractical since, as one editor put it, "If the student has no real liking for it, he will drop out at the end of the first two years and will have wasted a good deal of time and effort (and some taxpayers' money)." Many also felt that such a program has no place in an academic community. None opposed *voluntary* training and only a few editors reported appreciable vocal dissatisfaction among undergraduates over the issue. The minority who favored compulsory ROTC also did so in the name of practicality. "In our present state of affairs, it seems that even a limited knowledge of military tactics [would be] advantageous if we were ever faced with complete mobilization," one reply noted.

ON THE subject of the influence of fraternities and sororities, the pollsters referred to a book by Alfred McClung Lee of Brooklyn College which claims that although the organizations have improved, they are still detrimental to the "spirit of democracy." The majority dismissed the idea—with heat in some cases and contempt in others. "If fraternities are undemocratic, then so are the Knights of Columbus, the Elks, Masons, etc.," one irate brother commented. Another called Lee himself a "bigot." Some noted that the "Greeks" perform valuable services for the campus and the community at large. A common question was: "Is it undemocratic to pick your friends?" The minority argued that many groups still discriminate, either openly or covertly. A second point made was that "any social organization which is based on exclusiveness rather than universality is . . . detrimental to democracy."

In general, it may be said that the editors tended to consider issues on their individual merits rather than from the viewpoint of a preconceived ideology. Most were moderate in tone, even on such emotionally tinged questions as desegregation, and sectional lines were largely ignored. Sophistication rather than provincialism appeared to be the only noticeable trend in this poll of college editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Testament . . . *by James Stokely*

THESE poems, selected from a collection entitled American Testament, were written by an apple farmer whose family has lived for generations in eastern Tennessee, in the shadow of the Great Smokies. "From the beginning of this present phase of the race problem in the South," Mr. Stokely writes, "I have been on record, in letters to newspapers and in poems as yet unpublished, as supporting the forces in my native country which would root out the shameful evil of segregation. It is rude, barbaric, uncivilized, godless, Fascist, Communist, un-American, un-Christian, unhuman, and must go. There are more Southerners than I who believe as I do. . . . We represent a middle section, committed neither to the KKK-Citizens Council nor the NAACP, but to simple justice for human beings, both black and white. . . ."

Odessa Gal

In testimony whereof hereunto . . .
My black woman, Odessa,
Has served the family a long time
And is now growing old and will soon
Be of little value as property,
It is therefore my will
That she shall have her own free choice
Among all my children whom she will serve
And my request is that whosoever takes her
Will treat her kindly.
Praise the Lord!
This the thirteenth of April, eighteen fifty-four.
O'Dell Kendrick Randolph, Cataloochee Township.

Well done, good and faithful Randolph.
Odessa can have all the fatback she wants,
All the sowbelly, cornbread and molasses
She can poke down her honest black throat
The rest of her life,
God bless her.
Old mammies never die,
They just bleach into sub-rooms of thought
And quietly sing away in a deep contralto
To green and endless pastures.
Bravo, Randolph!
Earl of Rhododendron, Duke of Nolichucky,
Baron of the long Stud-Dream acres—
Come fetch thy heavenly crown
And rule with aristocratic grace
By the side of thy smiling child bride
Odessa Brown.

Code of Honor

Easy there with rope and trigger!
We're gentlemen in Old Catalooch.
We never scare or shove a lady
When lynching a nigger.

Blackboard Jungle

What was that blinding off-color
truth
The Western World forgot to
teach?
The Mark of Cain
Was a bleach.

Mirror

I met a half-blind Negro
In the big road today;
He stepped quietly aside
To ease my manly way.

I spoke, then goose-stepped on
Without noticing there,
Fierce in its secret orb,
Root of my despair.

Christian Patriots, Inc.

For the good of both races
Let's face it.
Roland Hayes Bunche Campanella
Is not a human being.
He's lying through his teeth
When he kneels, smiles and sings
"I have a soul!"
(Cannibals, O cannibals all!)
Let's exterminate him—
Done with petitions and tirades—
Let's make mincemeat of him,
Soap and lampshades.

Iron Curtain

I am an American
In love with myself.
What more can I lay
On this Christian shelf?

Of course, I have heard
Of a country far
Where people live
Behind a bar.

Let old Mother Russia
Hoard her ignorance;
Love has its own
Sweet-dreaming innocence.

Even in God's Country
Poets rise to die,
And doves, let loose,
Will peck your eye.

Reed Jarnagin

The acres that came down from his fathers
He used well. He was a family man
Who put the South and Cataloochee first,
Then the church and the land,
And finally his fellow man.
He was a neighbor to all
And never thought of building a wall
Except to hold cattle or Negroes;
Such was custom and necessity—
Choke the weed, protect the seed!

Lord, we give him back to the earth
He respected. A good name is to be valued
As well as silos and slaves one collects along the way.
If there's a heaven, and a season there,
Reed will be there, and up before sunrise.
His great courtship was with God's earth—
He honored it like a woman
And wasted it not.
Now, sweet earth, be kind to him;
Segregate not our Reed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BARONY IN CAROLINA

The Town That Towels Built . . . *by J. Jenkins*

Kannapolis, North Carolina

THE ARCHITECTURE of Kannapolis, "The world's largest unincorporated town," is pure Williamsburg, but for the stranger the effect is pure Kannapolis. Somehow, the throbbing industrial plants in the background offset the clean, restful building lines of the main streets.

There is a modern business section, as befits a town of 34,500 persons. A few steps from downtown are neat, attractive homes. Drive on, and the street suddenly becomes narrow, fire hydrants disappear and so do curbs and gutters. On the right and left as you proceed are modest dwellings, most of them with television aerials clinging to chimneys. Some have privies in their backyards. You are in what would be North Carolina's ninth largest city—except that it isn't a city.

Kannapolis is a twentieth-century barony. The drawbridges are invisible, but they are there all the same, ready to respond to the touch of "Mister Cannon." It is the most impressive example of that persistent phenomenon, the company town, of which other examples are Chapman, Alabama, owned by the Smith Lumber Company, and Kohler Village, Wisconsin, owned by the Kohler Company (see *The Nation*, April 7.).

Charles Albert Cannon (Cannon towels, sheets, etc.) wields his power sparingly. With Cannon Mills personnel and money threaded into every fabric of Kannapolis, situations rarely arise to require its use.

If you are a member of one of the 1,700-odd families which live in Cannon-owned houses, you would be reluctant to invite Charlie's displeasure. Professional men generally have thirty-day leases on their offices in Cannon-owned buildings—which include the heart of the business district—and the urge to kick over the traces must be checked by the knowledge that quick eviction is possible. All of the twenty-two town policemen, except for two Cabarrus County deputy sheriffs assigned to the area, are paid by Cannon. Kannapolis parking-meter money goes into the county's general fund, but is earmarked for the town's police force. The three Justices of the Peace include two Cannon police officials and a retired Cannon-paid chief.

Kannapolis was laid out in 1906 as a town of one square mile, with the Cannon Memorial Building at its center, by James W. Cannon, father of the present owner. Within that area all the property belongs to Cannon, except for a few scattered lots. And these Cannon can have when he wants them: there is an unspoken agreement that, whenever a lot comes on the market, Cannon may match the highest bid and pocket the property.

Churches which occupy lots on Cannon property do so under leases which provide that the property reverts to the owner if it ceases to be used as a church site. Only one church (there are more than sixty in all of Kannapolis) has a fee simple title to its land. Ministers say that Cannon does not try to influence them. One said, in a sort of whimsical way, "I do wish we had more industry," implying that a one-employer town has disadvantages. Cannon employees dominate all the church boards. One pastor in an outlying residential development has been critical of Cannon Mills in recent months. He has preached several strong sermons pegged to the general theme that the people no longer think for themselves. A member of his congregation predicts that he will leave soon.

Kannapolis is a law-abiding place, with an incidence of violence well below the national average, and for this the churches are given most of the credit. The community straddles the line separating dry Cabarrus County from wet Rowan County. Three-fourths of it lies in Cabarrus but of a Saturday night Rowan about evens up the population figures. Visit Rowan's "joints" and touch lightly on Cannon. The reaction varies from choleric denunciation—"Bud, when he does something, see who's gettin' the profit," to skepticism—"Cannon University? You can learn a lotta things there," to indifference—"If you had a hundred and fifty million invested, would you protect it?"

It's quite an investment, and one which has yielded returns handsome enough to make Charlie Cannon at sixty-one one of North Carolina's wealthiest men. With 20,000 employees (most of them in Kannapolis; others in Concord, Albermarle, Alamance), he is the biggest individual employer in North or South Carolina. The eleven big Cannon plants together form the largest manufacturer of household textiles—towels, sheets, pillow cases, gauze, blankets, hosiery; anything with cotton in it—in the world. And while Cannon's father founded the nucleus of the kingdom, Charlie, president since 1920, built it to its present size.

Statistics about Cannon Mills are not bandied about, but the company business last year was around $190,000,000. When three five-day shifts are being operated, the payroll in Kannapolis tops $750,000 per week.

SINCE the late 1920's and early 1930's, when organized labor put on a North Carolina drive that ended in violence and tension, labor has made little headway here. Some CIO organizers recently tried to move in. They say Kannapolis wages are

about five cents an hour lower than in organized textile plants. The CIO needed an office. Several empty office spaces were located. Owners of a couple of the spaces first dickered with the CIO, gave vague answers and finally said no. Meanwhile,

JAY JENKINS is Raleigh bureau chief of the Charlotte Observer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other empty spaces which the CIO had spotted had begun suddenly to fill up with items like used furniture. The result: no CIO office inside Kannapolis. The union man who directed the campaign lived in a house trailer—also outside of Kannapolis. Union prospects are dim.

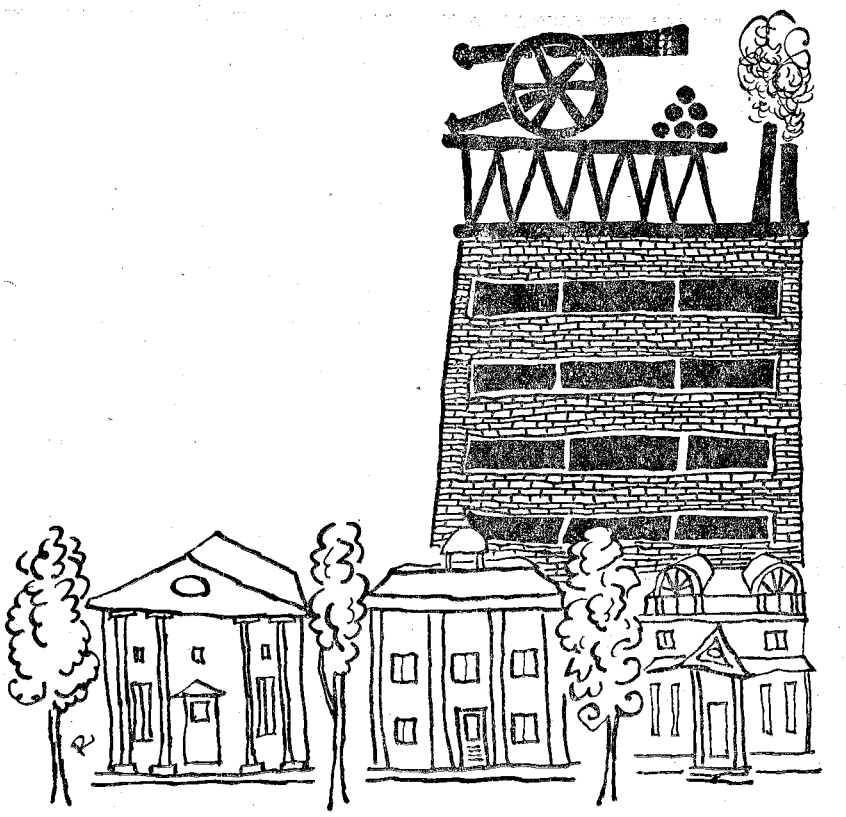
Besides the huge mill profits, the town-that-is-not-a-town chips in a goodly sum. Kannapolis' main business section, of course, is on Cannon property. Businesses lease their buildings, paying Cannon a percentage of the gross.

It is simple, when you own a town, to deal with competition. A competitor of Charlie's Cabarrus Bank found that out. Security Bank, unable to get a Cannon lot, set up business in a field at the edge of town, a few feet from an electric tower. A couple of big theatres, not part of Towel City Theatres, look strangely incongruous standing alone on the highway—off Cannon property.

Within plain view of the Cannon trademark—a cannon with a triangular stack of cannonballs beside it—atop the main Cannon mill, is the *Daily Independent,* Kannapolis' only newspaper. James L. Moore is publisher. Cannon's son-in-law, Robert G. Hayes, is a principal stockholder, and Hubert Safriet, vice president of Cannon's bank, is associate publisher. Cannon sometimes startles members of the staff by inquiring about some obscure news item. Despite the press of his business, little escapes him. When he walks through his miles of plants, he calls perhaps 90 per cent of his employees by their names.

WHAT Cannon owns, he governs autocratically but efficiently and with regard for the niceties of life. But Kannapolis has spread out in all directions beyond its magic center, and out there in the fringe the governing authority is remarkably vague and the amenities of modern community life are strikingly absent. This is a municipal void, with 500 separate businesses, more than 5,000 houses and a growing population. A good many of the fringe dwellers think there is much to be said for municipal government, but Mr. Cannon does not agree.

Remarkably few rumbles of rebellion stir the paternalistic empire. Cannon himself cannot devote minute attention to all of its phases.



Around Kannapolis, one Cannon executive is recognized as the political overseer, another (who manages Cannon real estate) is the "unofficial mayor of Kannapolis," while another handles civic affairs.

One factor which has served to keep down friction—aside from the knowledge that he who owns and gives can also take away—is the genealogical procession into Cannon Mills. More than 6,000 persons in Kannapolis and nearby Concord have worked for the mills more than twenty-five years.

There are signs, however, that Cannon opponents in politics are making progress. Dwight Quinn, who works for the mills, had a narrow squeak in his bid for reelection to the state House of Representatives. He won by less than 300 votes over young M. B. Shearrin, Jr., a Concord lawyer. Like other Cabarrus representatives for twenty years, Quinn is opposed to arbitrary stream-pollution laws, presumably because cleaning up the waste would be costly for Cannon Mills. Sherrin made removal of seepage and industrial waste from local streams the first plank in his platform.

Its representation in the state legislature is especially important to Kannapolis. As an unincorporated town, lacking a board of aldermen, it often has to depend upon the legislature to serve as a sort of city council once removed. The speaker of the 1953 legislative House, Eugene Bost of Concord, is related to Cannon by marriage and occasionally performs legal chores for him.

NOBODY needs a guide to tell him, upon entering Kannapolis, when he enters Cannon-land—there are fire hydrants. Cannon business and residential buildings within the magic one square mile are served by a water and sewage system, installed and serviced by a Cannon Mills engineering department, that would do credit to a large city. Its residents pay lower insurance rates than the thousands in the fringe areas because the fire department (four regular firemen paid by Cannon, and about 100 volunteers) can hook up hoses to the hydrants. While the firemen answer calls off Cannon property, they have to battle fires with totally inadequate water supplies carried on the trucks. Fringe-area homeowners, as a result, pay the high insurance rate of $6 per $1,000.

The great bulk of Kannapolis residents outside Cannon-land have to depend upon septic tanks for sewage disposal and upon a hodge-podge of private, unauthorized wells for water. Water shortages cause the fringe areas great trouble. In such times, baths often have to be taken

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at 4 A. M. to eke out enough pressure. Sometimes there is insufficient water for cooking. And always there is the threat to health from sewage. For the home owner, it is an unhappy situation. One Kannapolis citizen asked this reporter to look for himself. In the absence of a sewage system, the citizen's neighbor piped the dirty water from his kitchen and bathroom sinks through a pipe to a hole on the curb. From that hole, the water went down the open street.

The citizen led the way to his backyard. "Guess where the septic tank is," he said. The reporter had no trouble locating it. Where the tank and its overflow was, the grass in the enriched soil was several inches taller.

In the absence of incorporation—a step opposed by Cannon, who would be by far the biggest city taxpayer—and a city system, Dr. J. M. Jarrett of the State Board of Health has suggested that health needs may dictate a return to the old-fashioned outdoor privies. The return already has begun in a limited way.

The water systems serving citizens outside Cannon property number more than one hundred and range in size from one private company with 2,000 customers to a single well with three customers. Only those with ten or more customers come under the State Utilities Commission and are regulated as to water purity and other factors. Many of the small water suppliers got into the business through the back door, and do not like their roles. A man, for instance, might dig a well. A couple of water-hungry neighbors ask if they can tap in; the man's in business.

There must be an ultimate destination for the wastes, both residential and industrial. In Kannapolis it is Buffalo Creek, an unimposing stream which meanders down the valley west of town. Grey with the dye from Cannon Mills, the stream stinks. Fish cannot live in it, and people with sensitive noses cannot stay around it.

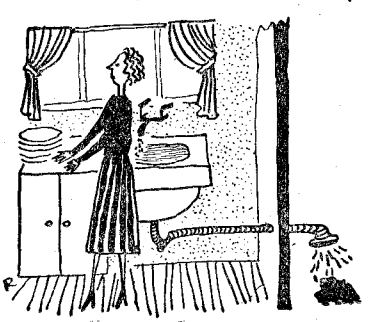
The many problems created by the disorganized water systems and the absence of sewer lines outside Cannon property have led the State Utilities Commission to label it "an intolerable situation inimical to health and decency." With more than 6,000 homes dependent upon private water systems and septic tanks, "it is only a matter of time before the public interest demands appropriate compulsory action by the State of North Carolina," the commission has said.

Unable to overcome Cannon's opposition to incorporation, or to defeat Cannon men for the legislature, citizens who want city-limits signs around Kannapolis now are taking another tack. They hope to induce the legislature to pass a state law making incorporation mandatory when a certain population figure is attained.

Another sure sign that tells the Kannapolis visitor he has reached Cannon property are the streets, most of them spacious with curbs and gutters. There are about 200 miles of state-built and maintained "rural roads" in the area. In and around Kannapolis is by far the greatest concentration of such roads in the state. The state gears its road program to population distribution. Since Kannapolis is a town in everything except fact, its concentrated population requires roads, and since, in fact, it is not a town, it gets "rural" roads.

CANNON'S own street department has built about fifty miles of roads, of which 90 per cent legally are the state's responsibility for maintenance. This, of course, saves the taxpayers some money. But if Kannapolis were incorporated, they would be saved even more. For then the State Highway Commission could draw from $40,000 to $50,000 a year from a state fund for maintaining the streets of incorporated communities. But Kannapolis can't profit from this fund.

When you own a town, city planning in simple. One of Kannapolis' main streets was too narrow. Without any hemming and hawing, Cannon sent in house-movers. Residences were jacked up, trucks put under them, and they were carted away to another street. Where there had been a narrow two-lane street, without parking room, there now is a six-lane street with parking room.



Cannon has given generously to Kannapolis "causes." A donation of around $2,000,000 went to the new Cabarrus County hospital. The money made it unnecessary for the state and county to accept federal funds for the hospital. And contractors, in the absence of federal funds, did not have to pay brickmasons and other workers a federal wage scale higher than that prevailing locally.

The 1935 legislature set up a Kannapolis school-administrative unit, but the act contains two significant clauses: the unit shall not levy "any taxes of any description" and it shall not elect trustees; they are to be appointed by the county commissioners.

Several years ago, in the downtown section, the remodeling of business buildings was undertaken to give them a colonial Williamsburg style.

Houses which Cannon owns are painted at least every two years, with housewives given their choice of inside colors. For renters who work in Cannon Mills by the month (the "boss" class), the cost of housing is roughly $10 per month per room. For those whose work is seasonal, or otherwise irregular, rents run between $10 and $20 monthly.

THERE ARE those who say that Charlie Cannon realizes that incorporation is inevitable. They say that the Cannon-inspired conservative attitude in politics is gradually giving way. But they say it softly. The visitor to Kannapolis, even for only a few days, understands. "Mister Cannon" carries great weight, not only in the unincorporated town but in the courthouse at Concord. Nobody with mouths to feed is eager to tangle with the guy who owns the grocery store.

A reporter lolling around Kannapolis for a few days at the end of his stay found himself looking up at the huge, electric trademark cannon and the triangular pile of cannonballs atop Plant Number One. The cannonballs, he knew, were mere hunks of glass and filaments of wiring. Just another sign. Yet the longer he looked, the more anxiously he found himself wondering: "Are those cannonballs real?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Power in the United States

THE POWER ELITE. By C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press. $6.

By Robert S. Lynd

POWER, Tawney remarks, is the most obvious characteristic of organized society; but it is also, he adds, the most ambiguous. Professor Galbraith suggests a reason for this ambiguity: "Power obviously presents awkward problems for a community which abhors its existence, disavows its possession, but values its exercise." This awkwardness, markedly characteristic of a capitalist society that professes democracy, has grown in the present century as specialization and the resulting heightened interdependence of social and institutional parts has made it clear that industrial society, like it or not, is a collective society. For collective interdependence requires institutional compatibility and agreement regarding objectives.

On the democratic side of the marriage of capitalism and democracy, our Constitution grants the government no authority over the "general welfare," and the courts have held that every power is a delegated power. Therefore the liberal state has been held back from developing a positive interpretation and open use of power as a resource for broadening and deepening the democratic character of our society. What political democracy intends, and would progressively become if it were not thus blocked off, was well stated by the late Franz Neumann in the *Columbia Law Review*. Discussing "the growing antagonism between the potentialities of our historical situation and their actual utilization," he stressed that "democracy is not simply a political system like any other; its essence consists in the execution of large-scale social changes maximizing the freedom of men."

Under such a conception the people and their development, not institutions, come first. But since the liberal democratic state has been largely prevented from placing the people first, some other agency must instate its version of collective coherence and purpose as the society's. For the one indubitable requirement—in an age that knows Keynes, the collective benefits of full employment as well as the collective losses of depressions, and the requirements of total war—is some version of integrated action. Largely—and by no means accidentally—it has devolved upon our capitalist economy to provide the statement of our national collective purpose and the methods of realizing it.

CENTRAL to the awkwardness in power today is, therefore, the fact that the conception of "democratic welfare" has become an incidental adjunct to "business welfare": our national purpose is business prosperity measured in dollars and volume of production of those things it is profitable to private business to produce. The unstated assumptions are (1) that private business enterprise produces the things that people need; and (2) that if people earn enough they will know how to turn their dollars into *human* welfare. The unstated realities are (1) that private business is not interested in such collective needs as better schools and well-paid public-school teachers, in socially adequate housing for the mass of the population, in the qualitative *human* adequacy and balance of the things involved in a richly diverse development of persons and families; and (2) that an increasingly pressure-sold—the new word is "presold"—population is accordingly encouraged to lose sight of those collective and personal values, important in the development of democratic society, that are not advertised and capable of yielding visible and instant popular status.

The need is to view contemporary power not piecemeal but as a whole, in its full setting, and when one writes about detailed aspects of power to do so in this perspective. To say this is not an academic counsel of perfection, but a sober conclusion from considerable evidence of the obstruction to clear thinking about power that results from analyses that deal only in immediate terms of personality, or of whether monopoly is or is not efficient, or of bureaucracy, or other isolated aspects. The most characteristic feature of power in society is that separate powers, however based, tend to flow together in working arrangements and so to become a structure of power coterminous with the society; and this means that attempts to deal fragmentarily with power and the problems it raises are largely frustrated.

In the temper of our times bold and candid writing about power is a most direct form of putting one's head into the lion's mouth. The writer's greatest temptation is to be so circumspect that he can be reasonably sure in advance that the lion won't really bite. Within limits, power is a saleable topic. It has a secret fascination, particularly for those who fancy they are, or are about to become, members of the powerful. A book can sell if it is forthright enough to arouse talk, and yet smooth enough to leave no deep grudge with the reader. Power may even be personalized so long as many persons in many spheres are named. But the writer on power much more surely invites the lion's jaws if he forsakes discursive talk about the powerful and lays it on the line that good and bad persons—including even leaders—are incidental, and that it is the whole structure of society and its institutions, which strong men like to think of themselves as serving and ornamenting, that is at fault. It was doubtless good salesmanship for the American publishers of Tawney's *The Sickness of an Acquisitive Society* to soften and blur the title of the American edition to *The Acquisitive Society*. For who would doubt that we live in an acquisitive society—but that it is "sick"!

It is not surprising, therefore, that our literature dealing directly and analytically with power is meagre. One may cite such comparatively recent books as Bertrand Russell's ambling *Power;* Robert Brady's important *Business as a System of Power;* books with a prevailingly psychological or logical-deductive

ROBERT S. LYND is professor of sociology at Columbia University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

focus by Lasswell; de Jouvenel's *On Power* with its religious, semi-authoritarian bent; and Hans Morgenthau's *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics,* with its bitter emphasis upon the irrational, whereby "The very act of acting destroys our moral integrity."

To this list is now added *The Power Elite* by Professor C. Wright Mills, whom many will identify from his *The New Men of Power,* on American labor leaders, and from his *White Collar,* which deals with the middle class. *The Power Elite* should be one of the widely discussed books of the year. Much of the picture of power is here, and interestingly presented. Mills is a sophisticated man who writes with a muscular vitality that never allows the reader's attention to flag; and his forty-nine pages of footnotes, many of them elaborations of the text, indicate the breadth of the materials from which he draws. Such a book invites the application of the criteria for writing about organized power set forth above.

THE substantial core of the book, following the opening chapter in which the author defines what he means by "elite" ("a set of higher circles whose members . . . command the [different] institutional hierarchies of modern society"), comprises chapters five through eleven on the Very Rich, Corporation Executives and the Corporate Rich, the Warlords and the Military Ascendancy, the Political Directorate, and an excellent chapter on the fallacy of imputing a "satisfactory or even good" balance to the *status quo* of conflicting interests in our society. The remaining seven chapters, on Local Society, Metropolitan 400, Celebrities, Mass Society, The Conservative Mood, and the Higher Immorality, depend unevenly from the hard core of the book. The architecture of the book leads up rather gently and discursively to the hard-biting middle group of chapters, and then glides down again so as to deposit the reader on familiar ground in scarcely more ruffled mood than he might experience after reading one of the occasional critical articles on American institutions in *Harper's.*

This point on the book's over-all structure is relevant because it explains the reader's growing uneasiness over the possibility that perhaps the analysis—all this significant documentation and good thinking—was not intended to get anywhere. Whether a book cumulates in meaning towards the point of joining its several strands in an interlocked body of conclusions, however tentative, is a matter of choice for the author. But not to do so in a book of such weight and potential importance on this subject seems peculiarly unfortunate.

Mills's failure to deal with the meanings for democracy of the impressive power trends he analyzes is the colossal loose-end of *The Power Elite.* He simply fades out on the expectation his pages encourage that this crucial arc in the analysis will be closed before the book ends. The book's opening paragraph stresses the central importance of this problem: " 'Great changes' . . . from every side . . . now press upon the men and women of the mass society, who . . . feel that they are without purpose in an epoch in which they are without power." This invites the hope that the pages to follow will provide a confrontation between the purposes of the powers-that-be and the efforts of men in democracy to affirm other purposes for which democracy stands. But, curiously, the potentially crucial chapter on The Mass Society is deferred until the third from the end, when the book is already tapering off, and then contents itself with describing what mass societies are and how they happen. Mills tells us that "The United States today is not altogether a mass society"; but he describes a movement towards a mass society that is in full tide, and the power setting of the rest of the book implies that it is to continue unchecked. If Marxism encourages distortion through viewing society from the bottom up, it may be the characteristic distortion of elite analysis that it looks from the top down, and not very far down at that.

This leaves one wondering whether the great bulk of modern society is to Mills but fodder for his elite. If so, he may be correct; but, if so, this becomes the most momentous unstated and unexamined conclusion of his book. If this is what things add up to, then reading about the who's and why's of elites is for us like reading about the scurry of ants zigzagging under the feet of a herd of elephants. Again, this may be correct for our generation. But such a conclusion simply repeats the bankrupt scarcity theory of power: that some people have it, and because they have it none is available for the rest of us. And, over longer time, does what the democratic idea intends provide nothing for man to fight for, and with?

The book has a hit-and-glide quality which derives, I think, from its central effort to instate elites as the master key in the analysis of power. Elite analysis is popular among sociologists nowadays. Its popularity derives, I believe, quite as much from the things it enables an analyst to avoid, as from the things it enables him to do. Most important, it provides a glittering focus above common, troublesome things like capitalism and the class structure of a capitalist society.

LET'S look at Mills's book in terms of what the approach to power through elites does to his analysis.

Power is a factor, unconscious or conscious, in all relations between people. It takes many forms, ranging from affection and spontaneous persuasion at one extreme to organized force at the other. One observes it in action in persons, in small groups and large organizations, in classes, in institutions, in whole societies. Mills sees power as basically in institutions, and the elite in terms of "institutional position," with "position" referring to the horizontal stratifications of people in institutions. He selects three institutions as the Big Three: the economic, the political and the military. From each of these, men emerge at the top. These are, respectively, the economic elite, the political elite and the military elite; and, together, they comprise "the American elite." In their persons, in informal and formal interaction, understandings are reached and crucial policies that control the country are launched into effective action. Roughly, this is all right, as far as it goes.

But it leaves important questions unanswered. Mills correctly stresses the need to bring the diversity rep-

Next Week
A History of the
English-Speaking Peoples
by Winston Churchill
Reviewed by James R. Newman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resented by the several elites together, to see the resulting American elite as a whole. The simplest unity may be seen in the fact that, though they come up from different institutions, these diverse members of the elite do arrive at concrete, agreed-upon policies. This poses the question: what is responsible for the readiness of these top persons to agree? I see three possible answers: (1) Men who rise that high in society may be counted on to be seasoned administrators who by long experience recognize the need, through adjustment and compromise, to reach some workable agreement about things to be done. This answer, correct as far as it goes, bases the tendency to agree upon nothing more substantial than influence and expedient bargaining among individuals. (2) Elites from different institutions act together and reach common agreements because one institution represented in the total American elite has power and rewards enough to force other institutions and their respective elites to act in the main in ways compatible with its interests. If this is the answer—as it is in part—Mills would need to assess and to identify the relative weights of his three institutions. This he does not do. (3) Elites from different institutions act together because the same influential class in society spreads across all institutions and controls them in a common general direction. This answer—which includes the relevant parts of the two preceding—provides much the broadest and soundest basis for the analysis of power in American society.

BY locating the cohering factor in the elite superstructure, Mills leaves other weighty factors unlashed-in and flapping like loose sails. He does not hold steadily in focus the massive continuities involved in the fact that ours is a capitalist society; the factor of class is belittled; the relative weights of his three institutions in a capitalist society go unassessed; and an unwarranted autonomy is imputed to the several institutions.

Capitalism appears intermittently in the analysis. The author knows that we live in a capitalist society; and I am sure he is aware of how important it is in our system of power. At certain points he makes this explicit:

> The corporations are the organized centers of the private property system. . . . the corporate revolution . . . has transformed property from a tool of the workman into an elaborate instrument by which his work is controlled and a profit extracted from it.
>
> Now the corporate seats of the rich contain all the powers and privileges inherent in the institutions of private property.

The trouble is not that the author fails to deal with capitalist power. He does so explicitly in the chapters on the very rich and on corporate big business. But he reserves property as a basis of power for one discrete set within the elite, and makes no solid effort to appraise the relative weight and the diffused spread of the power of property throughout all institutions under capitalism. He holds back on such unifying tendencies in order to reserve this dramatic role for his elites.

Mills is correct in insisting that power does not inhere in persons, and that it is not prevailingly a conspiracy. To analyze power under capitalism as a conspiracy of persons, rather than the weighted movement of circumstances in a given society, belittles the realities of power. But can one escape facing the reality that, historically, capitalism means and has always meant that the whole institutional system has become weighted so that, like loaded dice, events tend to roll with a bias that favors property?

There is a similar in-and-out vagueness about class in the book. Through most of the pages one tends to assume that the author takes the presence of classes for granted. He is explicit about it, for instance, when he says that "to have power requires access to major institutions, for the institutional positions men occupy determine in large part their chances to have and to hold . . . valued experience"; or when, in discussing the role of big business executives, he says they have reorganized "the property class . . . into the broader economic and political interests of a more genuinely class type"; or when he says that the elite "derive in substantial proportion from the upper classes. . . . The bulk of [them] derive from, at most, the upper third of the income and occupational pyramid." He even refers to "the elite as a social class." But three-quarters of the way through the book it turns out that he does not really mean "class," as class is historically identified. By confining the term to the economic sphere (" 'Class' is an economic term."), and by forcing the term class into the extreme meaning of economic determinism, he limits the involvement of class so defined in the totality of his elite to the immediate representatives from the strictly economic sphere. This enables him to reserve for the elite as a whole the spreading, unifying tendency long identified with class as it operates across the institutions of a capitalist society. But then he must qualify his reference to "the elite as a social class" by differentiating it from a "ruling class." If " 'Class' is an economic term; 'rule,' " he says, is "a political one." So he prefers to identify the imputedly non-class character of his "elite as a social class" simply as a "power elite." If the reader has difficulty in following these sophistications, so did I.

SINCE when has the concept "class" been only "an economic term" and ceased to refer to social aggregates? Along with Mills, I, too, dislike the term "ruling class." But if we dislike its over-inclusive implications, surely we may not overlook the fact that the essence of power under capitalism is ability to exercise continuing influence, to the point of control where that is deemed necessary, over major decisions. Does one dispose of such upper-class power under capitalism by fleeing to the term "power elite"? "Who or what," Mills asks, "do these [elite] men at the top represent?" He wrestles to explain why it is that the elite exhibit such unity of interest and direction of policy, why they tend to have "codes and criteria in common." And he forsakes the social and institutional level and resorts to the psychological level in such explanations as that "There is a kind of reciprocal attraction among the successful." Agreed. But what is it in our society that gives such emphasis to "success"?

All of this confusion stems from Mills's effort to give to his elite an independence and a diversity in outlook uncomplicated by the solid realities generally associated with class membership and interest and with the desire of those marginal to economic power to get under its tent. If Mills's reasoning does not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appeal to historically-oriented social scientists, it should permit members of the American "power elite" to sleep better nights.

IF Mills does, by main strength and awkwardness, hold his elite somewhat apart from our society's upper class, he has more trouble in keeping institutions apart. Of course he does not intend or imply that institutions are actually sharply separated; the issue is, rather, are institutions and the elites that represent them sufficiently autonomous under capitalism so that, for instance, the economic elite may be expected to have interests and commitments markedly different from the elites representing other institutions? Of corporate business and government he says: "We should . . . be quite mistaken to believe that the political apparatus is merely an extension of the corporate world, or that it has been taken over by the representatives of the corporate rich." Of course. His saving word here is "merely." But the question is—and this is the kind of question he repeatedly avoids: how much big-business control is enough to give it preponderant control? He does say:

> . . . today the successful economic man, either as propertied manager or manager of property, must influence or control those positions in the state in which decisions of consequence to his corporate activities are made.
>
> The long-time tendency of business and government to become more intricately and deeply involved with each other has [since the 1930's] reached a new point of explicitness. The two cannot now be seen clearly as two distinct worlds. . . . As of World War II [the corporate business chieftains] have come to dominate [the political directorate].
>
> . . . today [corporations] are, of course, as much political as economic. As political institutions, they are of course totalitarian and dictatorial, although externally they display much public relations and liberal rhetoric.
>
> [Speaking of "decisions responsibly made in the interests of the feudal-like world of private property and income"] Not the politicians of the visible government, but the chief executives who sit in the political directorate, by fact and by proxy, hold the power and the means of defending the privileges of their corporate world. If they do not reign, they do govern at many of the vital points of everyday life in America, and no powers effectively countervail against them, nor have they as corporate-made men developed any effectively restraining conscience.

Selected statements like these seem to march straight toward an important conclusion—so much so that they appear to refute my strictures on the inconclusiveness of the book's analysis. The questions that all but ask themselves from these assembled excerpts are: If the contemporary trends in corporate business power and its influence in government are as here suggested, why pretend that government and business are any longer importantly apart? Do such statements imply, when taken with the present increasing dependence of the political sphere upon business prosperity, that big business is increasingly in the position to dominate political democracy? Is the increasingly mass character of our society prevailingly traceable to the serviceability of a mass society to capitalist mass production?

These are weighty questions, and one has no right to insist that a man who writes a book shall answer them. But if that man sees warrant for making such judgments as the above quoted passages imply in a book devoted to the appraisal of power, is one justified in asking that he go on to ask the questions that then become unavoidable, to attempt to answer them, and that his answers—however guarded and tentative—be made the explicit basis for whatever else he thinks is relevant enough to the problem of power to be discussed in his book?

I am indebted to Professor Mills for much that he says in his book, particularly for his straightforward documentation at a number of points. But the basis of my criticism, as the above suggests, runs deep. The book reads as though it were written by two people: one with a relatively sure grasp of the realities of a capitalist society, and the other bewitched by the plausible appeal of a book on elites; and that the two never got together, but the man at work on elites succeeded in blurring and impairing what the other had to say.

So, to conclude: This book demonstrates the need to return to a more full-bodied approach to the problem of organized power in society than elite theory provides.

The book that tells how anti-semitism is used today as a political weapon

CROSS-CURRENTS

by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein

Here is the carefully documented, shocking exposé of hate mongers — in America, Germany and the Middle East — who threaten not only the democratic way of life but the whole course of world affairs as well. The anti-Eisenhower crusade, the Fort Monmouth scandal, the Nazi diehards and the Arab propaganda machine are examined and dissected with facts drawn from the files of the Anti-Defamation League, a nation-wide human relations organization that works for the interest of all races and creeds. Laid bare is the network of deliberate hate — international in scope, political in character, professional in method — that affects all American citizens.

"The reading public has good cause to be thankful that the League has spread the results of its investigations in published form."—TELFORD TAYLOR, *N. Y. Times.*

"Necessary reading."—MILTON R. KONVITZ, *Saturday Review.*

"Timely . . . shocking . . . especially noteworthy because it goes below the surface of the issues."—*Boston Post.*

$4 at all booksellers, or from Dept. N

DOUBLEDAY & CO., Inc. Garden City, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rebellion Against What?

MUST YOU CONFORM? By Robert Lindner. Rinehart and Company. $3.

By Ruth L. Munroe

THIS VOLUME is a collection of lectures delivered by the late Robert Lindner to various audiences and now loosely held together by the title theme. Except for some sections of the chapter entitled "The Instinct of Rebellion," the book has the clarity and sprightliness of the well-spoken word. It is always interesting, and deals provocatively with topics on which a psychoanalyst with special experience on prison wards might be expected to have enlightening views. Actually only the first two chapters deal at all directly with social misfits: "The Mutiny of the Young" and "Homosexuality and the Contemporary Scene." The others approach the problem from a broad sociological and psychological angle: "Political Creed and Character," "The Instinct of Rebellion," "Must You Conform?" "Education for Maturity."

THE TERM "social misfits" for the young mutineers and the homosexuals was chosen by me, partly because I couldn't think of a better one, and partly because it is a good point of departure for a discussion of Lindner's major thesis. The very term "misfit," for Dr. Lindner, would imply a society to which we are all expected to conform. The problem of our times is that society has become the master of men instead of their servant. Individual creativity is lost in the new Mass Man, equipped only to run with the herd. New, that is, to our civilization. Lindner appears to subscribe to a cyclic view of the growth and decay of cultures.

In such times of approaching decadence as ours a type of personality emerges known to the psychiatrist as the psychopath. All infants are psychopaths in the sense that they demand immediate gratification of impulse, express themselves promptly in action, and are supremely selfish, since as yet they have no boundaries for their own "self," and no conception of the "self" of other people. In a good society the infant learns control and circumspection, respect and love for his own mature self and for other people. The psychopath remains emotionally an infant in an adult world, showing the same traits without the beguiling helplessness of the infant, without the infant's teachability, and with adult power to execute impulse on a grand scale. Psychopathy may show itself as "senseless" rapine, vandalism and murder among teenagers; it may show in the oligarchies of Nazi and Communist states; increasingly in the democracies (e. g., McCarthyism). The strong psychopathic leader provides the only focus lesser psychopaths can understand—and our civilization, nowadays the whole world, is so far in the grip of its Frankenstein—society—that we breed psychopaths. (Communists, up to the success of the Communist regime, may be characterized as neurotics in search of a religion as an escape from personal problems.)

The solution Dr. Lindner offers to our problems is a psychic entity which he calls "the instinct of rebellion." He supports this "new" instinct with imposing quotations from Freud, from modern biologists, and finally from contemporary cybernetics. The human species instinctively "rebels" against its limitations, and the seat of this rebellion is the cortex. Children should be "reared in the exercise of skepticism." Parents and teachers must have the "self-knowledge to avoid making those of whom they have charge the pawns of their own unconscious strivings."

THUS far the present reviewer has tried merely to summarize Dr. Lindner's message. His sweeping generalizations as to the psychology behind communism and fascism seem to me oversimplified, especially as regards the American Communists, fellow-travelers and student radicals *I* knew before the consolidation of the militant Russian state. They did not seem to me "neurotic" as a group. I have the notion, indeed, that there would be less vandalism among present-day youngsters if more of them were "radical," if their teachers dared to express belief in some militant promise for the future, in something more heroic than supporting at the polls an administration just possibly less deplorable than its opposition, in some large devotion which could withstand not only the witch-hunts of Congressional committees but the diagnosis of "neuroticism."

DR. LINDNER suggests that psychopathy is the consequence of doting, overindulgent maternal care. A more common supposition among psychiatrists is that it results rather from the *absence* of parental figures with whom the child can identify, whose love he can trust, whose strength he can take as model, whose morality he can introject as his own conscience. The naturally "psychopathic" infant grows into a mature person through the parental "no" as well as through the parental "yes."

The capacity to tolerate postponement of gratification is rooted in the complex emotional relationship of the child to its guardians, not in a chilly education to rationality. A reasonable authority, a sensible, loving, self-respecting demand for compliance with the minimal requirements of his culture seems a better prescription for parents than the blanket invitation to rebellion suggested by Dr. Lindner. Except for severe neurotics, I cannot accept Dr. Lindner's emphasis on "self-knowledge" for parents. Too often parents who take this prescription seriously become self-conscious and timid, anxious and guilty—qualities rather worse for the child than the natural errors of the parent who belongs in his culture, and is himself the model for cultural values.

The trouble with our age for both parents and children is that we no longer have *any* strong convictions as to what is "reasonable" for society. The problem is cyclical in the sense that past cultures which have attained physical ease and inter-cultural contacts sufficient to break down belief in the absolute reasonableness of local *mores* and religions have usually become effete—"psychopathic." As psychologist I cannot share Dr. Lindner's faith in the instinct of rebellion as such to overcome this problem, or his trust in skepticism. What we need is a more

DR. RUTH MUNROE is a clinical psychologist. She has taught at City College of New York and Sarah Lawrence and is the author of Schools of Psychoanalytic Thought.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reasonable focus for rebellion. It must be a rebellion rooted in our guts as well as in our minds, rooted in parents and schools which dare to prohibit, which dare to offer positive goals. We need psychiatrists who can help us channelize the human capacity for a large devotion along increasingly reasonable lines instead of branding as "neurotic" those who believe in a cause, even in a cause they must later revise or abandon, seeking other means to accomplish an enduring and essentially valid purpose.

My answer to Dr. Lindner's title question would be yes, within a framework of social values which I would try to make increasingly more reasonable and humane. It is precisely the psychopath who is radically non-conformist, who accepts no law beyond the realistic gratification of impulse, *his* impulse, uncontrolled by the great irrationalities of long-term human values.

A Too-Measured Prose

THE PRESENCE OF GRACE. By J. F. Powers. Doubleday and Company. $2.95.

By William Goyen

THIS NEW collection of stories by J. F. Powers, published heretofore in the *New Yorker, Accent, Commonweal* and the *Partisan Review,* is one of inconsequential though well-wrought anecdote. There is a curious voice in Mr. Power's stories. It speaks in a wry, dead-beat, direct, sometimes cagey, sometimes sinister tone; it is dull, plain, perfectly rendered, unrelievedly monotonous, a sort of special speech made out of speech—so that it seems, ironically, literary artifice. It might just be that such is the danger of stringent literary method where craftsmanship further harnesses an already gaited subject. For the world of these stories is the small one of priests and rectories.

In "Dawn," "A Losing Game," "Zeal," the title story, "The Devil Was the Joker," Mr. Powers' priests all speak alike, in one voice, from one story to another. In "The Devil Was the Joker," Mac, a drummer of religious articles, speaks in the same tone of voice as Father Malt, an aged priest, and the rectory cat in "Death of a Favorite." Mr. Powers is in the company of contemporary writers like Jean Stafford, Peter Taylor, recent Eudora Welty, Frank O'Connor (and, curiously, J. F. Salinger) on whom Irish bears heavily, and whose writing is said to be poetic without being poetic, where a half gleeful, half grim author-frivolity is at play in the characters they create. Their fierce sense of method burns out theme and dries out subject matter as though it had been kept too long in the oven. No manner of frosting, sudden shocks or off-beat wit or whimsy, seems to change the taste. Mr. Powers' style chews hard.

To this reader, then, scope seems missing in the story-telling art of Mr. Powers, measure is perplexed, a sense of realm is lacking and human extensions feel curtailed. Considered within this limitation of style which damages the life of human characterization—humor and perception notwithstanding—these pieces are masterful examples of intelligent and expert writing over which the machine of discipline planes away, finishing, like wood, the natural grain of some measured timber only a sawmill's distance from the living tree.

WILLIAM GOYEN is the author of In a Farther Country, Ghost and Flesh *and* The House of Breath.

Ball Players

BANG THE DRUM SLOWLY. By Mark Harris. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

A SERIOUS-HUMOROUS novel in the vernacular is difficult; one about baseball players seems impossible. This one disproves the rule for about half its length. The man-to-man sentimentality is as good as some of Hemingway; the tone and probability of life as it is recognized are all there. And then it goes sour and embarrassing, possibly confirming that these Lardner-like goings-on are for the short story or very short novel length, but cannot stand up to prolonged inspection without falling into a sense of repetition and mockery.

DAVID CORT

New Work in Psychology

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN. By Mircea Eliade. Translated from the French by W. R. Trask. Bollington-Pantheon. $2.75. Profound and pregnant research in the psychology of time and the intuitive forms of the mind as revealed by the early cultures' attitude toward history. The learned author, a Rumanian, links these forms with the Leibnizian-Kantean concept of the mind as a dynamic power (in refutation of the Lockean-Positivist theory of the mind as tabula rasa). This little book makes sense, if read in connection with the work of the parapsychologists. And it sheds light on the "eternal recurrence" theories of the Hindus and of Nietzsche.

WALDO FRANK

JUST PUBLISHED – A NEW STYLE BOOK

with a universal appeal

A FIRST RATE NOVEL THAT TELLS—

in fiction and in truth—the story behind the communist outrages and deceit

THE DESPERATE MULTI-BILLION

dollar race between the United States and Russia, for a guided H-bomb.

Hard Cover—Attractive 3 color Jacket
288 pp. $2.85

AN AMAZING, FASCINATING NOVEL

written in a fast moving style by a Master writer of International mystery stories.

THE EXCITING ADVENTURES OF AN AMERICAN

Military Intelligence Officer, and his beautiful, young wife amid communist intrigue and danger. Love, laughter, human emotions, adventure. Not only thrilling entertainment, but also thought-provoking and absorbing reading that will keep the reader spellbound clear through to the astonishing ending.

SPECIAL MAIL ORDER OFFER

Send your name and address and $2.00 (foreign countries add 10c for postage) to publishers and book will be immediately mailed.

EXCELSIOR PUBLICATIONS

1554 California Street Denver 2, Col.
Cables: Excelsior

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Early Years of a Radical

SPEAK MY OWN PIECE. By Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Masses and Mainstream. $2.75.

By Roger N. Baldwin

FOR HALF a century, from 1906 on, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has figured as one of the few women leaders on the radical Left in the United States. For the last eighteen years she has figured as a leader in the Communist Party, and currently she figures as a federal prisoner for taking part in the Communist conspiracy to advocate the hypothetical overthrow of the U. S. government.

But her book of memoirs stops far short of her Communist conversion in 1937; it runs only to 1927, and another volume is promised to cover the later years. This record of her tireless working-class activities begins with her first speech at sixteen on women and socialism and ends with her defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In between she traveled from coast to coast as speaker and organizer in the struggles of the Industrial Workers of the World (to which she belonged for more than a decade), of the leftist trade unions and of anarchists, the Irish, the suffragists and the birth-controllers. In 1918 she organized the Workers Defense Union, and for half a dozen years led a fight for civil rights for all-comers. She was elected to the board of the American Civil Liberties Union on which she served for many years until the inconsistency of her Communist membership forced her expulsion.

ELIZABETH FLYNN came to her radicalism by inheritance from a Socialist Irish immigrant father and a free-thinking Irish mother. Her heroes are the martyrs and saviors of labor, touched by something of the same vision to which she "happily dedicated" her life: a "Socialist America"—presumably now a "Soviet America." But the Russian revolution and communism get scant attention; indeed the struggle for Irish freedom gets far more. And it was a decade after her present story ends that she submitted to the fetters of a rigid party line.

Her loyalty was always to "the workers," and she "hated those who exploited and betrayed them." She writes: "I became in my youth and I remain now a mortal enemy of capitalism." Despite her hatred, she writes without bitterness; and she has not revised history or her opinions of people to fit her later Communist line. Her greatest admiration is expressed for a leader of the IWW who did not, and I think could not, accept the gospel according to Lenin.

Miss Flynn has contributed a personal story to the violent struggles of industrial warfare on the Left in a period too scantily recorded in first-hand testimony. As a defender of the rights of workers on countless platforms and in organizing legal aid and raising funds, the record shows she was tireless, courageous and uncompromising.

ROGER N. BALDWIN was director of the American Civil Liberties Union for many years.

Television

Anne W. Langman

IN EGYPT'S Nubian desert is the site for the High Dam. It will take ten years and $350,000,000 to build it out of granite from the same quarries that used to provide obelisks for the Pharoahs: Prime Minister Nassar tells us that it will be modern Egypt's Great Pyramid. A thousand miles to the south, in the vast Sudan, enumerators with arm bands move from village to town to city, taking the first census in that country's history, in order to measure the extent of underpopulation. And in Libya the prime minister denies smuggling arms into Algeria but boldly states that, if he were an Algerian rebel who wanted freedom, he would do business with the devil himself, and that in this climate the devil is Soviet Russia.

These are a few of the sights and sounds of *See It Now's* Report from Africa-Part II, scheduled for May 17. It will deal with the civil war in Algeria and the problems of other countries in the northern half of the continent. Before Edward R. Murrow says "Good night and good luck," his audience will have seen much of the struggle for freedom in Libya, Ethiopia, Egypt, Uganda and the Sudan.

The first half of the report, on the air on April 23, dealt with the countries in the south of Africa. The theme was self-determination—the revolt against colonialism. It appears to be advanced in some countries, just beginning in others. On the Gold Coast, strong-jawed Prime Minister Nkrumah told CBS reporter Alexander Kendrick that Africa's most urgent need is political emancipation. In Liberia, a few hundred miles away, the heritage of its freed American slave founders was vividly illustrated by children pledging allegiance to their flag in words almost identical to ours, and by the native army marching to "The Caissons Go Rolling Along." President Tubman, politically bland, said that it is as difficult to predict when all Africa will be free as it is to tell when will be Judgment Day. In the crown colony of Kenya, a group of Mau Maus, who looked astonishingly mild and good, were confessing to a British lady interrogator. Governor General Sir Evelyn Baring, wearing a plumed helmet at a garden party, stated that the Mau Mau experience has opened the formerly pure white government to Africans and Asians. The reluctant goodbyes to Father Trevor Huddleston, recalled to England from the Union of South Africa after a courageous fight again *apartheid,* set the stage for some telling sequences on the current challenges to this policy of separation of the races.

Kendrick and William McClure, top cameraman, spent seven months in Africa and sent home 250,000 feet of film. In the editing to 6,000 feet for each hour show, pygmies and elephants fell to the cutting-room floor. Only occasionally, as when the roar of Victoria Falls followed the protesting silence of the Black Sash Women, were scenes kept for their atmospheric comment. Transparent maps were superimposed on the film from time to time. "If you brought the audience back to New York to look at a map," said Fred Friendly,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

co-producer, "it would destroy the illusion of spending an hour in Africa which we tried to create."

The complexity of what John Gunther calls "our last frontier . . . the richest prize on earth" forces any geographer to select a particular point of view, a specific interest. The partnership of Murrow and Friendly chose to present Africa as shaped today by the struggle for freedom going on in each of its parts. Until recently, the continent has had to be considered as a series of land-islands, each surrounded and isolated by a sea of land. Now the airplane makes an overall view possible. And *See It Now*, after more than four years as a weekly half-hour show, has a more capacious and flexible format which enables Murrow and Friendly to tackle large survey projects in sixty, ninety, or in this case 120 minutes.

Critics of the African show have said that half a continent is far too much to cover in one hour; many have wondered why there could not have been a series of shows, one country to each. The producers answer that their theme of the search for freedom as Africa's common denominator could not have emerged from a series. People do not watch every show in a series, and if they did would lose the continuity of thought from one week to another. Therefore Murrow and Friendly were prepared to sacrifice the kind of probing and provocative study that they have done so well in the past. They are showing us all of Africa struggling under the yoke of a colonialism that seems as senseless as the heavy hand of a husband holding an unloving wife to her marriage vows, to use Friendly's descriptive metaphor.

To those who know something of Africa, this approach seemed at times to simplify almost to the point of being misleading, as in the Liberia sequence where the overlay of American democracy was allowed to mask what takes place beneath the surface. It seemed to me that the program was optimistically assuming a great deal of basic knowledge to which the viewer could add this up-to-date report. It was a graduate course and, as a freshman in Africa, I kept wishing that I could stop for a moment to absorb what I had just seen, to listen to Murrow's explanations (which now seem completely lucid in the script on my desk) without the continuing impact of new visual distractions. I believe that this gamble for a broad picture was worth taking and that the show was valuable. But if TV continues to give us such advanced fare—and the move is in a welcome direction—it might consider subsidiary innovations to match this progress. The network could distribute, in advance of such a show, a fact-sheet for the briefing of the uninitiated viewer, who would then be able to absorb much more of its content without confusion. Some such device is almost sure to be necessary if programs are to be beamed above the lowest common knowledge denominator.

REPORT from Africa—Part I was an important hour, worth a second viewing. Sometimes the networks re-run their outstanding programs, recent examples being "Out

— TV Forecast —

May 13 through 17

(See local papers for time and channel)

Sunday, May 13

CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST (NBC; Princeton '56). Origins of the Arab-Israeli clash, aims of both sides and implication of the trigger situation for American foreign policy will be discussed by Professors Marver Bernstein and T. Cuyler Young.

TREES IN THE WIND (NBC; Frontiers of Faith). A dramatized episode in the life of painter Chaim Soutine, written by James Yaffe, produced under auspices of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

IVORY HUNTER (ABC; Famous Film Festival). J. Arthur Rank film on the struggle to save the wild game of Africa from extinction.

PRESIDENT (NBC; Alcoa Hour). Claude Rains in the role of a retired Supreme Court Justice who runs for President and finds the political arena a raw and dangerous stage. This drama may throw light on what makes judges —or generals—run.

THE BELFRY (CBS; Alfred Hitchcock Presents). Father is host, daughter stars in another horror story of this dramatic series.

Wednesday, May 16

SURVIVAL IN NATURE (ABC; Disneyland). Kill-or-be-killed battles among nature's smaller creatures: a horned toad and a rat, coyote and an armadillo, and a microscopic close-up of the rotifier, smaller than a fleck of dust, which feeds on other micro-organisms. Disney's simplest creatures comment, by implication, on the biology of more complex societies. For the kiddies?

Thursday, May 17

REPORT FROM AFRICA—PART 2 (CBS; See It Now). Discussed in this issue.

Radio

MUSIC ON A SUNDAY AFTERNOON (CBS). CBS Radio Orchestra and Chorus and recorded light music, punctuated by baseball scores, weather and traffic information. Andre Baruch is host on this summer weekly series.

BOSTON POPS (NBC). On Mondays from May 14 through July 9 Arthur Fiedler conducts the Boston Symphony and guest soloists in light to medium music. Narrator: Ben Grauer.

A. W. L.

ARE YOU TRYING TO FIND YOUR WAY THROUGH THE CONFUSION AND CLAMOR OF THE PRESENT AGE?

May we suggest—

"THE QUAKER APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS"

The Fourth Annual Avon Institute

June 10–17

Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut

Spend seven full days in the lovely and peaceful Connecticut countryside—the ideal setting in which to discuss the "Quaker Approach" to such personal ethical questions as that of compromise, to political action, to international tension. Religious searching is also at home. Small round-table groups are the heart of the Institute. International students and U.N. Secretariat members will participate.

Leaders will include: Stephen Cary, member, Quaker mission to Russia, 1955; Roy McCorkel, recent CARE mission chief in India; Samuel Levering, Friends Committee on National Legislation and World Federalist; A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Morris Mitchell, Putney Graduate School; Reginald Reynolds, British writer and traveller, author "Cairo to Capetown".

SPECIAL AFTERNOON DISCUSSIONS on WORLD RELIGIONS and PEACE, led by Amiya Chakravarty, Floyd Ross and Cornelius Kruse.

Family participation is encouraged. Special children's program.

The program is designed to provide an unhurried, relaxed pace. Food is excellent—plenty of recreation. $55.00 for everything—scholarship help available. Write now for further detailed information regarding arrangements, costs and registration to:

Russell Johnson
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Darkness" and "A Night to Remember." A consistent re-run policy, say a few hours each week devoted to a review of the best shows, would be another welcome innovation and an encouragement to thoughtful programming. Or perhaps there is a courageous soul in the industry who would start a re-run station where viewers could see repeats of the best shows of all networks—a repertory station based on quality. It could have a happy effect on the intellectual and artistic standards of this new, and at present sadly ephemeral, medium.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN HIS performance of Prokofiev's Cello Concerto No. 2 with the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos the Russian cellist Rostropovich revealed himself as a brilliantly accomplished performer in all respects but one: as against the variously beautiful tone that Janos Starker, Frank Miller, Leonard Rose and Pierre Fournier produce from the cello throughout its range, Rostropovich's tone is thin and dry, and though agreeable in the lower and middle range of the instrument, gets to be shrilly whining in its upper range. As for Prokofiev's new concerto, in the process of providing the soloist with the means of displaying his command of every resource of his instrument the first two movements seemed to me, at this first hearing, to ramble on from one thing to another endlessly; and I found particular details here and there attractive but the movements as wholes formless. Only the finale, with its vertebrate theme-and-variations structure, had formal clarity and coherence which made it, for me, the most effective movement of the work.

At this concert Virgil Thomson's Concerto for Flute, Strings and Percussion also was played, with John Wummer as soloist. It is, according to Thomson, a bird piece, which he makes amusing to read about in his program note ("Sometimes it is a tender and meditative bird, sometimes an exceedingly angry and agitated one. But in no case is it a lady or gentleman flute player."); but I didn't find its elaborately contrived "hopping around, bird-like calls, swoops and ascents" interesting to listen to; and the best thing about it was its brevity.

In these new works, as in the Molinari transcription of Debussy's *L'Ile joyeuse* that opened the concert, Mitropoulos operated with a concentration on his tasks that left him no time for extravagance, and the orchestra, in response, did some relaxed and beautiful-sounding playing—these being things which this conductor and orchestra don't do always. And while I am on the subject of the Philharmonic I will add that disquieting reports about Cantelli's work with the orchestra this year led me to listen to his broadcast performances of a Vivaldi concerto grosso and Strauss's *Don Juan*. I was a little shocked by the change from the simple lyrical flow one used to hear, to the monkeying with tempo, the distentions, the portentous pauses that impeded this flow now; but the following Sunday I heard performances of the "Good Friday Spell" from *Parsifal* and Verdi's *Te Deum* which flowed simply and naturally as before.

AT THE final concert of the Symphony of the Air under Leonard Bernstein the poised, continently phrased and beautiful-sounding violin-playing of Isaac Stern stood out in an over-blown performance of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 5 with especially overblown piano-playing by Bernstein himself—the weight of orchestral and piano sound making Paul Renzi Jr.'s flute-playing barely audible. Stern was the soloist also in Bernstein's Serenade (after Plato's *Symposium*) for Violin, Strings and Percussion—a piece which, like Thomson's, was uninteresting to listen to, but unlike his was not amusing to read about in the program and went on interminably.

As for the *School for Wives*, which the New York City Opera presented with Mozart's *The Impresario*, Rolf Liebermann's music proved to be a modern-style hubbub of little intrinsic interest which carried a stage production that was made distinguished by Wolfgang Roth's scenery and costumes and by John Reardon's powers of presence and projection, notably in his last-minute appearance as the *deus ex machina* of the proceedings. On the other hand, the few pieces of music that Mozart wrote for *The Impresario*—chiefly the lovely overture and the two brilliant arias that were sung well by Beverly Sills and Jacquelynne Moody—were engulfed in the lengthy, pretentious and foolish play devised for the production by Giovanni Cardelli.

RCA Victor LM-1907, which offers Berlioz's *Les Nuits d'été* sung by de los Angeles with the Boston Symphony under Munch, is one of the outstanding records of the year. It is that, first of all, because of the songs themselves, which overwhelm anyone I play them for, and overwhelm me anew each time. I have been playing the Columbia performance by Steber with an orchestra under Mitropoulos; and part of its overwhelming effect results from Steber's opulent and powerfully expressive singing and the remarkable way that Mitropoulos shapes and times the orchestral details to work with the vocal phrases. But the songs turn out to be equally overwhelming as performed in a totally different manner—with more animation and delicacy—on the new Victor record. The loveliness of de los Angeles' singing is no surprise; but Munch hasn't often produced such exquisite playing with his orchestra; and Victor's engineers haven't often achieved such clear and faithful reproduction as they do of the delicate sounds in this performance. The gleaming violin harmonics in *"Au Cimetière"* that can't be heard in the Columbia performance; the rapid passages for basses in *"L'Ile inconnue"* that are blurred—these are wonderfully and excitingly clear on the Victor record. But I must report one exception: many of the plucked bass-notes that are so exciting in *"Au Cimetière"* are strangely inaudible. And I must report also that, whereas the Columbia record comes with the French texts as well as English translations, the Victor comes only with especially bad English versions.

Another fine vocal record is Vanguard BG-553, with a number of madrigals by Morley, Weelkes,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wilbye, Vautor and others—the gay ones charming, the slow ones, with their dense textures and their chromaticism, deeply affecting—sung by the Deller Consort with extraordinary refinement of tone and phrasing.

Similarly, among the instrumental pieces by Dowland on EMS 12—pavanes, galliards and almands—the several grave ones, including the four *Lachrimae,* are most impressive. They are played well by a small group of modern strings and lute, the Geneva Chamber Ensemble, directed by Franz Walter.

Letter From Paris

Gerald Sykes

THE RECENT centenary of Heine's death, more honored here in the city of his adoption than in his native Germany, called to mind a *bon mot* of his which seems pure fun but has curious relevance even today. He said: "It is easy to understand why the Romans conquered the world—they didn't have to learn Latin." Try as I will, I cannot think of a neater explanation of the misunderstandings that continue between the New World and the Old, and especially those that confuse the relations of the United States and France.

Lately I have been talking to teachers, schoolchildren, parents, professors in an attempt to reach the source of this misunderstanding which appears to be a difference in education. I am now convinced that the fundamental difference lies in our attitudes toward the past. We Americans are Romans in the sense that, born into a young and dynamic world power, we rejoice in our relative freedom from cultural baggage. The French, on the other hand (and they have been called the modern Greeks so often that it has become a cliché; a saleswoman sprang it on me the other day) *believe* in such baggage. To them no one can hope to be happy unless he is ballasted by a complex heritage that demands a great deal of hard intellectual discipline.

AT OUR worst we take a bombadier's attitude and want to blast the hell out of every remaining monument—like the young American aviator quoted by Gabriel Marcel in *The Decline of Wisdom* who said: "You should be grateful to us for bombing all this old stuff. Now you can build a clean new town."

The French at their worst make a *snobisme* of cramming the heads of the very young—amazing how mature their six-year-olds can look!—with an essentially literary training that, by crude survival standards, may actually unfit them for life as it is today. Not to mention the French cult of patina, which is turning the Musée de l'Art Moderne (1937) into an antiquity before its time, by mere avoidance of the mop.

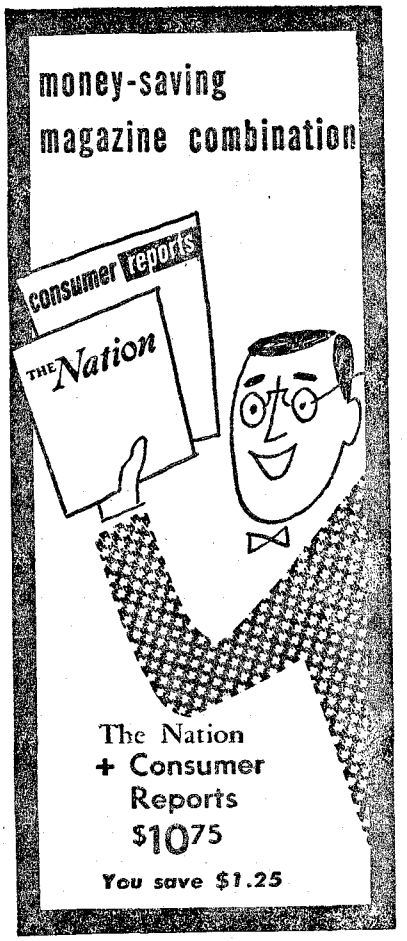
It is a fine point, how much of the past can be safely jettisoned, and no two people, let alone peoples, will agree about it. Obviously a great many Americans admire Superman and believe they can attain some of his power by non-surgical lobotomy. Obviously a great many Frenchmen admire the bureaucrat and want nothing more than to fuss with papers and argue about Chateaubriand, the writer or the steak. It is also fairly clear that history is going to be unkind to both these national exaggerations.

My only hope is that none of our foundations decides to do something about it. Some gaps are unbridgeable. A friend of mine recently overheard, through a thin hotel wall, a quarrel between a GI and his French girl friend that may have been a very symbolic drama of neo-Roman and neo-Greek. Indignantly in the middle of the night the GI ordered the girl out of his bed and sternly made her sleep on the floor.

"But why, cheri?" she pleaded. "What did I do?"
"I won't tell you."
"What did I do?"
"I won't tell you."

Finally after six hours of tears she got him to admit why he had thrown her out. He was still outraged: "You said I didn't have any culture."

THE BOOK-HUCKSTERING excitement of the day is *Un Certain Sourire* by Françoise Sagan, who wrote *Bonjour Tristesse* two years



It's not only the money you save but the value you get when you subscribe to America's outstanding liberal magazine—The Nation—and America's outstanding consumer publication—Consumer Reports. The Nation helps you with your thinking and Consumer Reports helps you with your living. An ideal combination.

So take advantage of this money-saving offer now:

This combination is available for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Payment must accompany all combination orders.

If you wish to order The Nation itself the price is $3.50 for 26 weeks: $7 for one year; $12 for two years and $17 for three years. The special servicemen's rate is $5 for one year and is available only when the magazine is sent to a military address.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, N. Y. 14

Gentlemen: I want to enter my subscription for the following:

The Nation and Consumer Reports $10.75 ☐

The Nation: One year, $7 ☐ Two years, $12 ☐

6 months, $3.50 ☐ Three years, $17 ☐

(Canada and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone_____ State_____

5-12-56

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ago, when she was eighteen. Her publisher is René Julliard, who also published last season the poems of either Minou Drouet, aged eight, or her foster mother, who is somewhat older (no one knows.) The newest volume in M. Julliard's youth movement has had a first printing of either 400,000 or 150,000, depending on whether you believe the newspapers or the literary agents, and the critical consensus is that it proves Mlle Sagan was no flash in the pan. Some reviewers have spoken of its appalling emptiness, which they say would bore anyone not looking between endpapers for that which can only be found between sheets, but they have been drowned out by another kind of reader who doesn't get lost-generation self-pity served up so smoothly every day. Or erotic advances from strangers in movie houses, or continual whiskies, or adultery with the husband of one's benefactress and complete forgiveness afterwards.

IN SPITE of the Mendès-France campaign for milk and street posters depicting this country as the most alcoholic on earth, heavy drinking continues in other examples of popular art, notably in the films *Je Suis Un Sentimental* and *Les Héros Sont Fatigués*. I haven't seen so many bottles emptied in a Hollywood film since William Powell days. In the first it is Eddie Constantine, a transplanted American modelling himself on Bogart and Cagney, who pours it down. In the second it is Yves Montand, a French Gregory Peck, who gives this sure-fire demonstration of virility. The best thing in the latter picture is that it is authentically laid in Liberia, with a gang of worthless whites trying to crash colored society and being justly—and amusingly—spurned.

LIKE MOST other people in my neighborhood, I wait until films arrive around the corner, where I can see them for about thirty-five cents. Fortunately there is never a double feature. The program is rounded out with documentaries (one about Paris backyards was truly poetic), newsreels, commercials (when the lights go up and the candy-butchers go forth)—and always an *attraction*. This is a vaudeville act: acrobats, cartoonists, singers, dancers. The best was a pickpocket who lined eight people up on the stage and presented them with the wrist watches, wallets, keys, fountain pens he had stolen while choosing them from the audience. And then in the midst of an argument with a pretty girl he stole her brassiere right off her front and apparently without her knowing it! I don't think there is a spot for him back home in TV. But the Paris audience loved it. And I must say I loved *them*.

Dance

Edwin Denby

THE RUSSIAN feature-length ballet film *Romeo and Juliet* is more fun to watch if you don't like classic dancing than if you do. The whole cast keeps behaving like the operatic *boyars* and *mujhiks* one is acquainted with from Russian historical films. They rush up and down stairways, they fence by hundreds, they stare, feast, dance and mourn with an unquenchable agility and vehemence. Seen close-up, they ham an emotion with a capital letter. They do a little classic dancing too, and tie it in by heavy character acting. They are completely convinced, if not completely convincing. You can't miss any point they make, but you do miss a delicacy of implication. The action hasn't that aura, or overtone, of grace and human sweetness that in Shakespeare or in classic ballet lets the wonderful side of a meaning appear as if of its own accord. Instead, the film has a great deal of the energetic obviousness, the enthusiastic conventionality we are used to in the ballets of our screen musicals. On that level *Romeo* does very well.

But one expected another level. This *Romeo* is intended to show Russian ballet at its best. It has been adapted from one of the best postwar stage productions, the *Romeo and Juliet* of the Bolshoi of Moscow. It has been choreographed and co-directed by Lavrovsky, the choreographer of the theatre version. The original ballet score by Prokofiev is the film score. It is danced by Bolshoi Ballet, headed by the most celebrated of Soviet ballerinas, Galina Ulanova, who created the same Juliet in Moscow. Very likely the film keeps the style, the general plan and many of the best moments of the stage version; certainly it shows every sign of care and devotion in its realization. And on this level one looks for a general effect much more interesting, and for a show with more sparkle.

BUT A local ballet fan is too curious about Soviet ballet to leave it at that. He comes to the film delighted with the chance to see the difference in style between these dancers and ours. He watches the detail for moments when what they do will show the kind of force the style has.

And he does see effects that communicate. Juliet, with the Friar's potion in her bodice, as she begins to dance with County Paris, has a moment when she thinks she is dancing with Romeo; the insane flash of it is real, though the style is melodramatic. Romeo has a strange rushing entrance in the tomb scene, and he lifts high what he believes is Juliet's corpse with a gesture that brings back the grandeur of the verse. Mercutio in the midst of the sword fight in which he is to die has a rush of darting and twisting leaps that makes one see his spirit all quickness and no venom. Two acrobats leap through the carnival crowd with a vivid gusto. And when the whole population of Verona is dancing its stamped and Slavic step in the carnival square, in the general enthusiasm the remoter groups can't hear the beat and gradually shift to a later one of their own: this shift is so real it pulls you right into the crush of the crowd. These moments are not effects of classic dancing, they are effects of acting, of mime. And I was delighted as by a sort of virtuoso mime specialty, when Tybalt made his face look the absolute peak of fury, and then slowly altered it to look twice as furious.

But the local fan keeps thinking, what about showing us some choreography? There are groups strolling,

EDWIN DENBY, formerly dance critic for the New York Herald-Tribune, *is the author of* Looking at Dance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crowds milling, pretty girls in tears, people running very fast or standing still, cutting capers, feasting, brawling and constantly making faces and violent gestures. At the ball there is lots of genial ogling and drunken lurching, and with this motivation, slices of four or five dance numbers. But as far as their choreography goes, that turns out to be surprisingly commonplace; uninteresting in its material or in its development to the score. The big folk dance in the square, choreographically speaking, is nothing at all. But the unimaginative choreography of the two decisive *pas de deux* is what astonishes the fan most. The situations are the greatest—those of the balcony and of the bedroom scenes; the dancers are the best. And here at the poetic climax Juliet's dances have no brilliance of choreographic invention, no power of choreographic expression at all. They are elementary. While Romeo's part consists of giving his partner support with now and then the crumb of a leap thrown in. The dancers carry the situation by mime, like fine actors putting across a decisive scene in which they have only a banal text to work with.

THE choreographic text is consistently elementary so as not to distract from the mime expression. Very likely the Russians don't even look for expressive values in that text. Very likely the point of our best ballets would be lost on them if they saw them. They would take them for exercises in virtuosity. How could they know that they were meaningful when all the dancers looked so pleasant and so civil?

One comes to see that these Russians don't try for the same lucidity of dance action and of dance rhythm that we are used to, and that an interesting choreographic text calls for. They like to be off the measure. They prefer to fling out a whole step sequence to the general rush of a musical phrase or two, as if they heard in the music only its rhetoric or drive. They prefer to let the mime element—the acted emotion—blur the shape of the step and the classic carriage of the body. There is an exception in the classic-style group dance with mandolins, but the discipline here is meant to register as nice party manners. Only Ulanova shows a consistent powerful exactness of line in feet and legs; but even with her the mime emphasis makes the shoulders rise, the wrists tense, the floor-contact thicken. And the habitually lifted rib-cage (the habitual pouter-pigeon silhouette of Soviet ballerinas, which means "Here is my heart") breaks the line of her back and shortens her neck.

ONCE a local fan gives up looking for what we call choreography and classic style, he can see that the whole of this *Romeo*—dancing and mime—is keyed to a dominant mime image, a melodramatically violent one intended to characterize the environment of the brawling Capulets and Montagues. That the violence is a Slavic one, and not an Italian, is natural enough. But Shakespeare uses the brutal families as a foil for the marvelously civilized lovers—whose strength and delicacy suddenly become a wonderful and growing power that gives to the tragedy its joyous radiance. The kind of point Shakespeare makes can be and has been made by classic ballet when the piece (as in Petipa) takes its key from its lucidly dazzling grand *pas de deux;* just as the English play takes its key from its most dazzling sweet moments of verse.

But the Russian choreographer has turned the foil into the protagonist, and has taken his key from the rude and heavy mime motions that signify brutality. Everything in the ballet is oppressed by some reflection of the key. And the insistent intentionalness of the mime key has a depressing effect in another way. The effect is that the only human relations left in the piece are intentional ones.

Anyway the heavy mime style bores you. So when Lady Capulet, with an awesome gesture, rends her bodice in grief over Tybalt, you find yourself peeking at her underwear to see if that too is in period. When Juliet in the bedroom scene keeps falling agonized to her knees, you notice that it isn't in front of the Madonna that she drops, but in front of a full-length mirror—and you see Ulanova-Juliet with a ballerina's practice mirror in her bedroom.

But after an irreverent breather, the fan can watch again. Not the acting, but the movement, and how beautifully Ulanova runs. How handsomely they all run. And the fan is struck by how the men sail through the air, all of them, with a fine sustained stretch that few of our boys achieve. They sustain the extension through the powerful middle of the body, they don't hold it as well in the ankles, knees and nape, classic style. So they increase the effect of a weight that sails. The weight the dancers suggest in their action becomes the men better than it does the women. And the men's strong stance is a pleasure. And as the fan watches, he gets to see that the expressive vigor of their action comes from the dynamic sforzando attack they give to a stretching motion, a sforzando that comes from the midriff, and that has been trained in many graduations. Ulanova is a virtuoso of both the attack and the development that follows.

And one can well imagine—when a stage is full of heavy men and

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S
NEW MUSICAL SMASH HIT
PIPE DREAM
SHUBERT THEA., W. 44 St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

Best Book Contest for 1956
$1600 Cash Awards plus 40% royalty. All Types of manuscripts invited. For Contest rules and details of famous publishing plan, write for Brochure N.
Pageant Press 130 W. 42nd St., N. Y. 36

Service for Our Readers from Our Readers' Service

If there's ANY book you want to buy—you can do so without leaving the comfort of your home. Simply let our Readers' Service Department do your shopping.

Here's all you have to do: send us the name and author and, if possible, the publisher of the book. We'll have it sent directly to you.

If payment is received with your order the books will be sent you post-free; if sent COD, you will be charged the regular price plus postage.

No COD's outside the United States.

Address your orders to:

The NATION
Miss O. Le Pach
Readers' Service Department
333 Sixth Avenue ,N.Y. 14, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDINGS

FALSTAFF RECORD SERVICE

For those music lovers who cherish the integrity and taste of the Nation's music critic

We provide the greatest discounts consistent with the quality of records and service you have the right to expect.

The complete LP repertoire is readily available. Information regarding the relative merits of interpretations and recordings will be provided on request.

Whether you happen to be a casual buyer or an avid collector, our full efforts are devoted to every order. No minimum purchase required.

All of the advantages of record "clubs" with no obligation on your part.

Records are guaranteed to be new and free from defect.

Catalog and price list, on request

(Exclusively mail order)

317 East 13 Street, New York 3, N. Y.

MEETING

New Documents
in the case of
MORTON SOBELL

Speakers:
JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN
former Attorney General of Michigan
STEPHEN LOVE, professor of law
JOHN WEXLEY, author
Special message from
LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL,
philosopher

CARNEGIE HALL

Tues., May 15, 8 p.m.
Admission $1.50 (tax incl.)

tickets at -
COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL, 940 Broadway, N. Y. C., AL 4-9983

WRITERS' CONFERENCE

THE TWENTY-THIRD WRITERS' CONFERENCE in the Rocky Mountains, July 23-August 10, 1956. Outstanding staff. Philip Wylie, May Sarton, Warren Beck, Walter S. Campbell, Phyllis Whitney, Harry Muheim. Write Don Saunders, Macky 368, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)

The NATION

333 Sixth Avenue.
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

women dancing with this kind of powerful sforzando thrust and leaping up with a powerfully sustained extension in the air, so that a continuous pulse of ferocious energy pours out over the audience while the orchestra blares full strength—that the theatre effect becomes so overwhelming one doesn't so much watch the dance as abandon one's self to the orgiastic discharge of it. One can well imagine the mass scenes of *Romeo* or any other piece creating such an effect, so that when Ulanova appears, so slight and small compared to the rest of the cast but so rapid and decisive and so occupied with a particular inner life, the shock of seeing an individual again is shattering. One doesn't ask for more, one sees her through tears of gratitude. One can well imagine it, but the film doesn't show anything like it.

Nor could it. A large stationary stage accumulates energy (or else lucidity) in a way that the swiveling narrow field of a camera can't. A camera can't keep its mind on dancing. In a mass scene its eye catches a hardness of strain in a movement and reminds you that the dancers have been repeating this take so often they are past their best form. The camera eye looks at a few steps of Ulanova's and observes that her waist is not a pretty one. It also observes her worn face, but after a few moments that turns out to be in its own way quite pretty. Of all her many dance qualities, it is her lovely airiness in lifts and supported leaps that best keeps a trace of its stage magic in this film.

It has been a long film but it is over now. The fan has caught the copious visceral vitality of these dancers which would make them a stage success anywhere. Their style has less visual and musical continuity than it has visceral. Conventional ideas when they take this expression become what some of us call vital, human and earthy. What a wow this company would make of *Sheherazade*. The expression of their style is strongest just where that of our ballet is weakest, and vice versa. When they come to New York, what fun it will be to see the contrast. As for myself, as I went down into the subway on my way home, I began to wonder what Rubens would have done if he had been a Russian choreographer.

SUMMER RENTALS

NEW HOUSE, furnished, large living room with fireplace, 2 bedrooms, bath, fully equipped kitchen, dining area. Located on 150 acre scenic property 20 minutes to Tanglewood. Swimming pond. Unusual opportunity. Telephone evenings: Chatham, N. Y. 5-5012 or write Box 414, c/o The Nation.

FLORIDA COUPLE WANT comfortable furnished house or apartment; quiet area near N.Y.C.; June-October, dates flexible. Give all particulars. Weeks, 1111 N. 11 St., St. Petersburg.

PUBLICATIONS

25% DISCOUNT
ON ANY BOOKS IN PRINT
(10% on texts and technical books)
1. Deduct 25% from list price.
2. Add 15c per book for postage.
3. Send check or money order.
(N.Y.C. residents add 3% sales tax).
THRIFTY BOOK CLUB
206 W. 15 St., Dept. N, N. Y. C. 11, N.Y.

THE U. N. WAY: Southern California's exciting new community service technique for service organization growth. Operations Outline spells out step-by-step action for growing together toward peace. 35c per copy (estimated actual cost). PACIFIC NEW ENGLAND CO., INC., Box 1152, Studio City, Calif.

LITERARY SERVICES

COMPLETE LITERARY SERVICES. Write for terms. No obligation. Daniel S. Mead, Literary Agent, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

PERSONALS

AH, LOVING, LONELY, OLD-FASHIONED LIBERAL! We're back again spinning our tops—all 8, counting those two little rebels you actually see spin their downsides up. Japanese folk-art in wood & festive color. 4 designs, 2 ea. Gift-card imprinted, "You're the Tops!" For your boy, your coffee table, Lola or Mr. Wonderful. One firm gave 60! $1.10 per box, ppd., but you can have it back if you're not enchanted. PACIFIC NEW ENGLAND CO., INC., Box 1152, Studio City, Calif.

DOWN WITH DIN!
NODS Ear Stops banish noise! Made of soft pink Goodyear Airfoam tipped with sound-absorbing wax, they mold to fit your ears to provide the most effective sound barrier known—and the most comfortable. In use since 1940 for sounder sleep, noise-free reading and study. Fine for swimmers, too. Guaranteed to please! 3 prs. (4-month supply) $1.00 postpaid. 7 prs. (with travel vial) $2.00 ppd.
THE SLEEP LABORATORY
186 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.
LITE-FOIL Eye Shade bans disturbing light! $1 ppd.

20" WINDOW FAN—Push Button—Electrically Reversible, with thermostat. List $89.05—PRE-SEASON SPECIAL $47.50. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.

MOVING & STORAGE

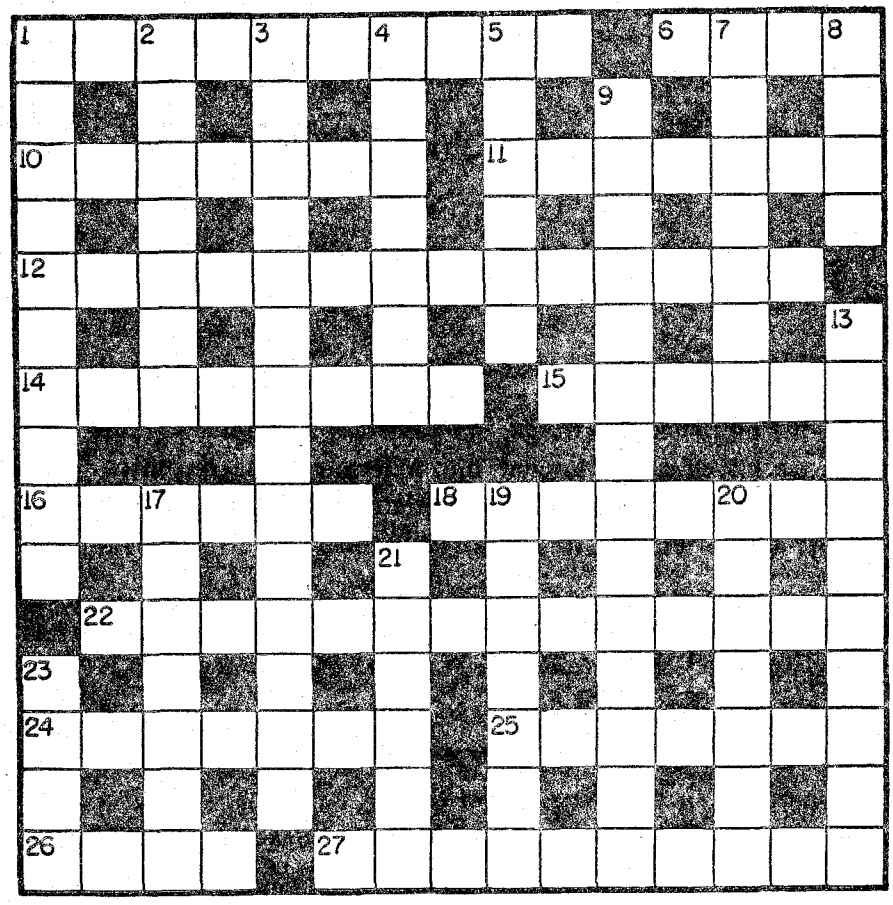
KING ARTHUR—Personalized moving at very low rates. AL 5-0794.

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 671

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One of these was genuine leather in Oklahoma. (10)

6 Check the support. (4)

10 The thing that makes fair game with hounds in the first year. (7)

11 Following a main course, perhaps. (7)

12 Does it associate the hall with waxwork if one has to, particularly between wars? (6,8)

14 Lobster? This variation suggests a number of uncooked meals for Friday. (8)

15 Not so pretty a sort of carpet to recline in. (6)

16 Smith was this on the totem pole. (3,3)

18 If you treat an Irishman like this, you'll 6. (5,3)

22 No service, or at best places study the arts. (14)

24 Busy with a ring? (7)

25 A sure sign that the wrong type will come in to a shaky cause. (7)

26 This has its ups and downs, but there's a string attached to it. (2-2)

27 See 23 down

DOWN

1 Led astray, with poor choice inside. (This type is not always well preserved!) (4,6)

2 The villain's evil laughter might show where he comes from. (7)

3 Fliers in 12? (5,2,7)

4 Falls upon. (7)

5 Leave waste. (6)

7 This sort of hard labor is interrupted by what's on the tombstome. (The Marines have landed) (7)

8 His job should be safe at least! (4)

9 Frank would never imply acting so, unless you dig in. (14)

13 The race of Seth scattered amid the brambles? (10)

17 Hardly a correct manner. (7)

19 A short way in a narrow one implies a lot of work. (7)

20 Haunt. (7)

21 A first one would hardly be an old scholar, but we sometimes see one on the road. (6)

23 and 27 across Would the following signature be faithfully copied? (4,5,5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 670

ACROSS: 1 UNSOPHISTICATED; 9 PERFIDY; 10 ALUMNUS; 11 ORIGIN; 12 ESCAPADE; 14 OVERPRINTS; 15 NEAP; 17 NAPE; 19 UNROMANTIC; 22 ELECTORS; 23 TARIFF; 25 BEE-LINE; 26 SPATIAL; 27 EXTRAJUDICIALLY. DOWN: 1 UNPRONOUNCEABLE; 2 SERVICE; 3 PHILIPPI; 4 IDYL; 5 TRANSITION; 6 CAUSAL; 7 TONNAGE; 8 DISRESPECTFULLY; 13 DINNER MENU; 16 MAHARANI; 18 PREFECT; 20 TRIVIAL; 21 ATTILA; 24 ASTI.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept. The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

UNIQUE LAKESIDE RESORT, Lodge & Cabins in deep woods, rustic, informal, moderate. Boating, canoeing, swimming, tennis, shuffleboard, etc. on grounds, Hi-fi recordings, barbecues, hikers' lunches. Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, Playhouse. CHANTERWOOD, LEE, MASS. Folder N.

MAPLE VILLA

Bungalow Colony

Garden Spot of the Hudson Valley

Plattekill, N. Y.

A summer community completely furnished with modern facilities on 75 acres of fruitland, just 1 hour from NYC via thruway to Newburgh.

2 Purified Swimming Pools, Dancing, All sports, TV, Children's playground.

Write or phone Newburgh 13-M-1

Stonegate LODGE

ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.

Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks

Charming Estate—Limited to 90—Pollen Free

Delicious Food—Folk-Square Dances

Concert Trio—Arts & Crafts—Dance Band

Tennis — Golf — Fishing

Long Lake Summer Stock Theatre

N. Y. Off. 250 W. 57th • Circle 6-6386

Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

LINDEN TREE

VEGETARIAN-DAIRY RESORT

Viola Road Spring Valley, N. Y.

Week-ends; Weekly; Health Programs

Also: Housekeeping rooms by the week or season.

Dr. Alice Chase, Health Director

Author of "Nutrition for Health"

Phone: SP. V. 6-9655

REAL ESTATE

IDEAL HOME FOR ARTIST

Modern house amidst pine trees on 8 acres forestland, completely secluded, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, livingroom 32 x 15 with fire place, modern kitchen, diningroom, 2 porches and huge stone terrace overlooking creek with swimming pond. 55 miles from New York. Price $30,000.00. Owner: Eric Calm, Flemington, N. J.

Attention Please!

Train leaving on Track 31 for

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for rest and fun.

Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages.

$7.42 per inch, per insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

333 SIXTH AVE., NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by Southern Farmer, Inc., P. O. Box 509, Montgomery, Ala.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

Announces a Tenth Anniversary Symposium

SCIENCE AND THE AFFAIRS OF MAN

Over thirty-five essays . . . by distinguished scientists, statesmen, philosophers, military experts, and historians . . . analyzing the impact of modern science on international relations, military strategy, world economy, education, ethics, and religion. The following articles will form a part of this important symposium.

SIR LLEWLLYN WOODWARD	*Science and the Relations between States*
RAYMOND ARON	*A Half-Century of Limited War?*
SIR JOHN SLESSOR	*The Great Deterrent and Its Limitations*
HANSON BALDWIN	*The New Face of War*
ALVIN WEINBERG	*Nuclear Energy and the Scientific Revolution*
LORD BOYD ORR	*Science and Hunger*
EDMUND W. SINNOTT	*Science and the Human Spirit*
MORTIMER ADLER	*The Questions Science Cannot Answer*
THEODORE BRAMELD	*Education for the Emerging Age*
WALTER ELLIOT, M. P.	*Science and Government*
ALEXANDER HADDOW	*The Scientist as Citizen*

Take advantage of the special Introductory Rate listed below to be certain of receiving these important issues of the *Bulletin.*

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists
Dept. NA-1
University of Chicago Press
5750 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

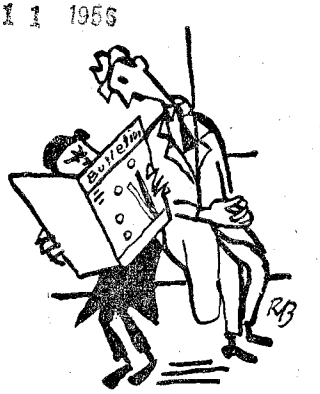
MAY 1 1 1956

Please enter my subscription to the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* for one year at the special Introductory Rate of $4.00 (Regular Rate $5.00).

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED